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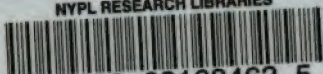
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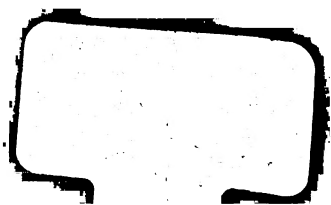
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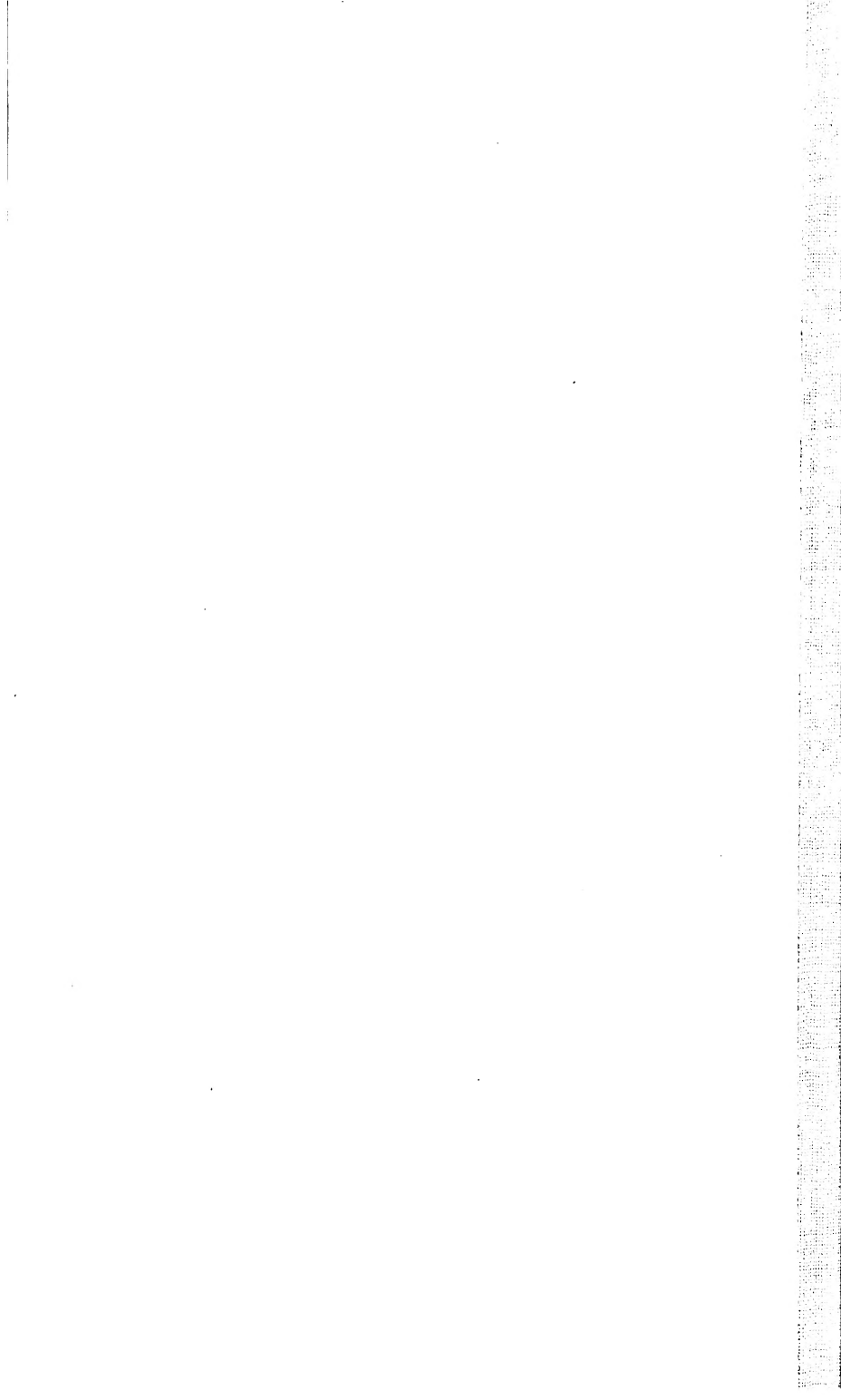


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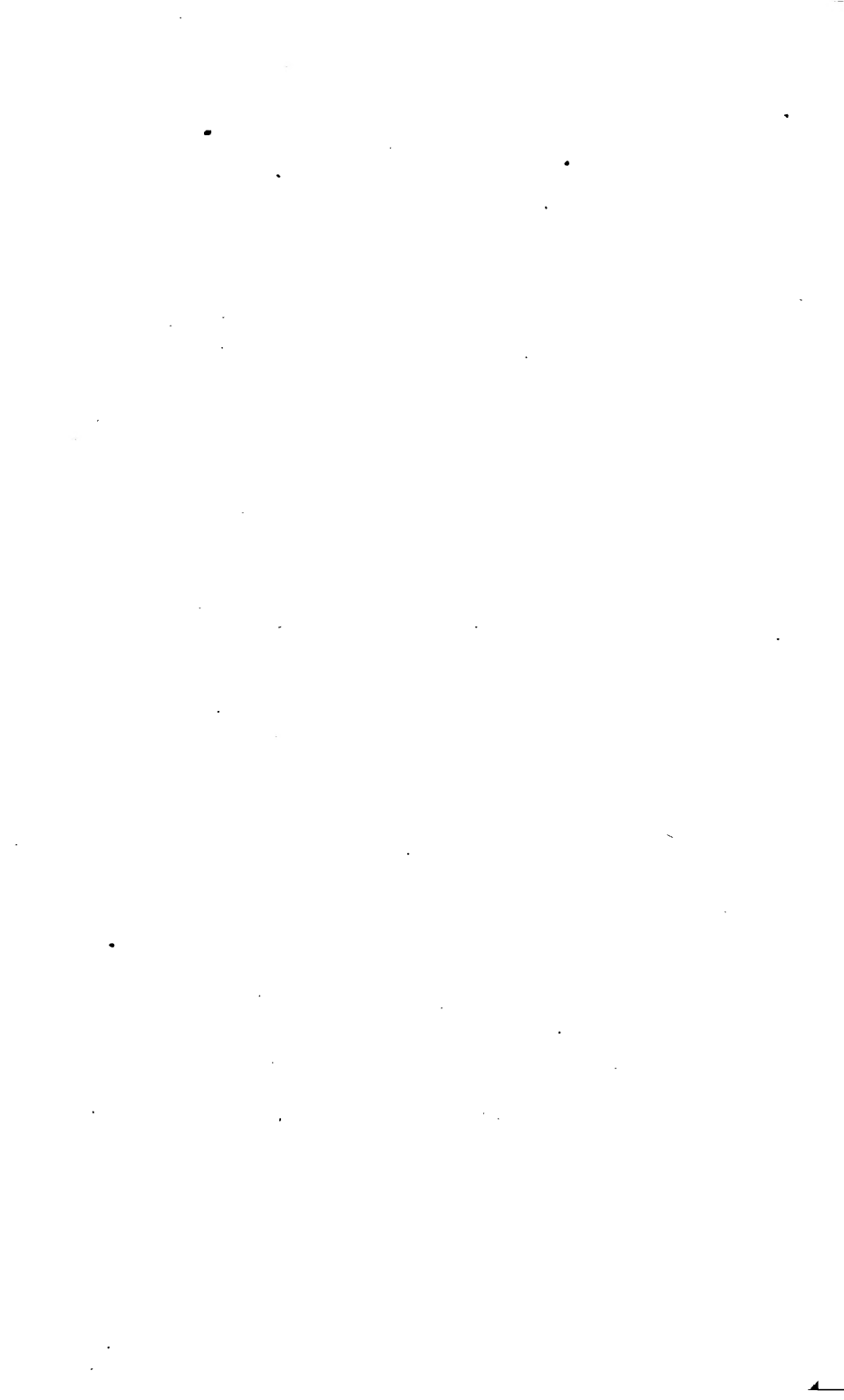


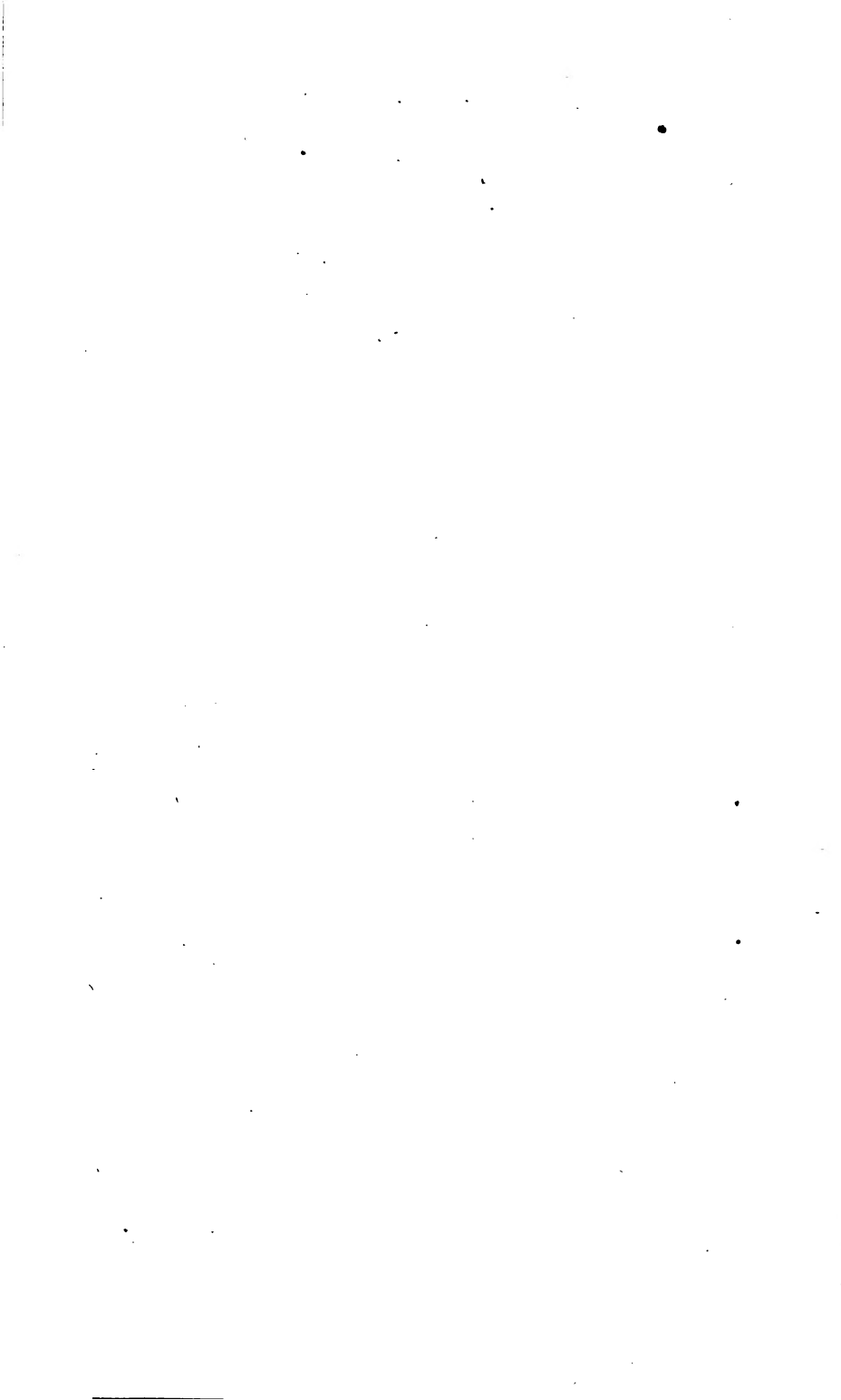












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EDITED BY

B. HARRIS COWPER,

EDITOR OF THE NEW TESTAMENT FROM CODEX A; COMPILER OF A SYRIAC GRAMMAR; TRANSLATOR  
OF S. CHRYSOSTOM ON THE PRIESTHOOD; ETC., ETC.

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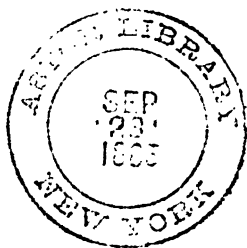
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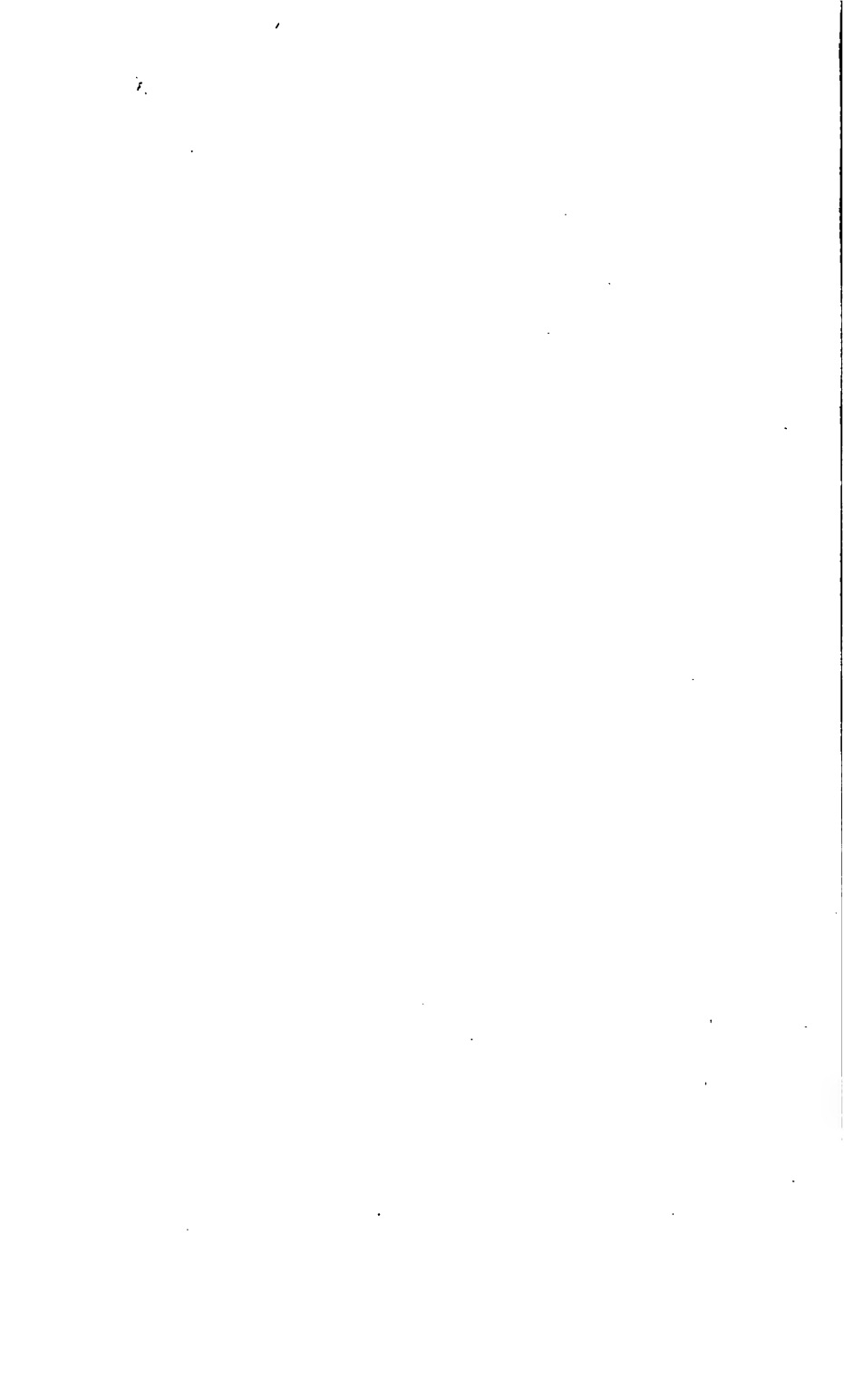
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**THE CHURCH AND THE WORKING MEN.**

LOOKED at from the human side, the inauguration of the Gospel was a popular movement. The Saviour was the reputed child of parents belonging to the humbler and industrial classes. It is all very well for apocryphal mythologists to represent the parents of Mary as very rich, and to suggest that the infant Jesus was cradled in luxury and oriental splendour; but the Gospels tell us a truer story: Joseph was a carpenter, and Jesus was a sharer in his lowly estate. When Mary confessed that God had regarded the lowliness of His handmaid, she was thinking more of her want of earthly rank than of anything else. The descent of Joseph and of Mary from David proved their honourable blood, but did not in the least preserve them from poverty.

When Christ came out into his sphere of active labour, he was wholly destitute of worldly grandeur and consideration; and to the last he was more looked on as the "friend of publicans and sinners," than of the grandees and rulers. His twelve chosen apostles were all from the ranks of honest poverty, and never left them. The seventy whom he sent out to teach were equally undistinguished. The followers whom He and they



collected were almost exclusively of the same class. From the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles we gather that this state of things continued, so that few indeed of those who formed the early Church came from a superior degree. Men of wealth and consideration and the philosophers and learned came in but gradually and slowly. During the whole of the first two centuries this was the rule, that the Christians were poor in this world. It might almost be said that throughout the Roman empire the Church contained little besides the popular element, until Constantine set an example to the titled and the great. Outside the empire and in a few localities we encounter exceptions, but they do not affect our general estimate. Fable has given the Church kings and princes and grandees in those ancient times, but we are not concerned with the idle or pretentious inventions of later days.

Yet during those three centuries what wonderful progress the Gospel made, and how blessed were its messages! And when nations came to be nominally Christianized, the masses appear to have willingly and zealously conformed to the religion established. It was so to the time of the Reformation. Nay, the movements of the Waldenses and Albigenses, of the Wycliffites and Lollards and Hussites, were heartily espoused by the people. The Reformation was welcomed by millions of them, and until comparatively recent times the industrial classes generally attended the public ordinances of divine worship. If we carefully inquire, we shall find that the various forms of infidelity were almost confined to persons not of the people. Amid all the apathy and neglect of religion which characterized the last century, the phenomena of the present day are not prominent.

The first French revolution had a powerful influence upon this country. Questions which had never been discussed among working men, came to be discussed. There was a great awakening of intellectual activity among them. The principles of law and government, of science and philosophy, of Church establishments and of Christian evidences, became the themes of daily debate. Public lecturers and the printing press aided the work, and men's minds came to be at once occupied and pre-occupied.

The great educational movement which tended to elevate the popular mind unquestionably served to alienate it from our public religious institutions. The rapid progress of our industry and the centralization of the masses in its chief seats, took men away from their old associations, and led them to exchange their old traditional habits. Restless and factious political demagogues diligently instilled into their minds suspicion and dislike of the settled order of things, and thus almost imperceptibly a national revolution was effected. The Reform movement, the Chartist movement, and other great agitations are also to be taken into account. But in one way or another the churches lost the presence of the people.

We boasted of the activity of our Bible and tract societies, of our home and city missions, of our day-schools and Sunday-schools. And yet they proved incapable of preventing the ebb of the tide. It was observed that when children left the Sunday-schools, they left the churches and chapels, and it was asked, Where are our elder scholars? How shall we retain our elder scholars? Still the evil grew, and for some years past it has been an admitted though appalling fact that only a small minority of the working men and women of our cities and towns attends upon our public worship. The multiplication of our temples and agencies has not saved us; the improvements in our modes of conducting divine service have not saved us. The crowded congregations which assemble to listen to popular preachers are but seldom from the laborious classes. Myriads of these, it is true, are associated with the National Church, with the different orders of Methodists and other Nonconformists, and this is cause for gratitude; but there are millions who stand aloof from every church system. Even the Roman Catholics, who have motives so peculiar for attendance on their religious services, are not much better than others. If they are at all better herein, the fact may be accounted for.

Many Roman Catholics go to a chapel, not because they attach any value to what we mean by personal godliness, but because they think so highly of certain outward ceremonies and observances. In actual practice they are at least as profane and immoral, ignorant and filthy, as the nominal Protestants of

the same rank. They are not more industrious and sober, nor in any respect superior in their habits and character. Many of them quite think that one may be a good Catholic without being a good man. If the professed Protestant does not attend a place of worship it is very much because he attaches no value to outward forms, and not because he is a worse moral character. Not a few of his more intelligent representatives avow their belief that a man can be a good man, who refuses to conform to any church. Thus to the Roman Catholic, church-going is everything, and to the other, nothing. Their ideas of religion are totally different. The one supposes there can be no religion without external forms; the other undervalues forms. The one almost identifies forms with religion, the other despises them. The one has faith in his clergy; the other suspects them. The one has faith in times and places, the other has none. The one is superstitious, the other without even the show of religion. The one is credulous, the other is either indifferent or sceptical. Whether a man is better who retains a form of godliness but denies its power, than one who has neither its form nor its power, may be left an open question. But it is easy to see that an irreligious Romanist is naturally longer in severing his connection with forms than an irreligious Protestant.

The writer of this paper has had the best possible means of ascertaining the actual condition and sentiments of the classes now under consideration, and therefore he must be regarded as stating facts rather than theories. It is a fact that in the metropolis, for example, tens of thousands seldom or never go to a place of worship on Sunday. Who are these men? What do they do? How do they account for their neglect of the means of grace? By what means can they be brought under spiritual influences, and gathered into the fold of the Church? Such are the questions which we must ask, and answer if we can.

Any one who will sacrifice his ease and dignity, and will go out and look after the wandering sheep, will soon find that they are not all without teachers. Out in the highways, byeways, and open spaces when the weather permits, multitudes assemble

at selected spots. They come to listen, to debate, or to teach. Here is an infidel, there a teetotalter, yonder a political disclaimer; on one side is a party discussing the evidences of religion, and on the other side a preacher. Tract distribution is also common, and carried on by persons of very different principles. We have known these operations carried on in summer, with slight intervals, from eleven in the morning till nearly, or quite eleven at night; and this every Sunday for months together. On such occasions probably thousands in one day hear something about religion, whether good or bad. It was stated in a former article in this journal that Roman Catholic controversy was infrequent at the places therein chiefly in view. But since then there has been a change, and certain habitual disputers for the papacy have made determined and persistent attempts either to propagate their creed or to annihilate that of Protestants. The way in which these parties were confronted was unexpected, and the demolition of their stock arguments first enraged them, and then drove them from the field. These men were in a twofold sense more mischievous than some who will be shortly referred to. In the first place, when they were defeated they had recourse to violent and seditious language, denouncing our laws and governors by wholesale; and in the second place, when they could not inflame popular feeling, they avowed their determination to make men infidels, if they could not make them Roman Catholics. Happily their violence was shortlived in the case referred to, though it is certain that such outbreaks of temper and abuse must do mischief.

Another and far more numerous class of teachers is infidel. The apostles of unbelief may be divided under three heads:—1, Apostate Romanists of Irish origin; 2, Apostate Jews from Germany, Poland, or England; and 3, Renegade Protestants. So far as our experience goes, the Romanist Irish are the most numerous and the most rabid opponents of religion; the Jews come next, and the ex-Protestants are the fewest—occasionally Scotch, or even Welsh, but mostly English. To the foregoing may be added a certain number of Jews who adhere to their old creed, but are fond of debate.

The Irish Romanist infidel is an Esau: his hand is against every man, he is bitter and unrelenting, coarse, ignorant, and mendacious. Rarely indeed does an English infidel do the devil's work so unflinchingly, although he sometimes makes his shot as hot as he can. The Jew is crooked and mendacious, and fond of puzzling the unlearned by his knowledge of Hebrew, which is very often little better than a sham. The Protestant infidel inveighs against priests and priestcraft, Church abuses, etc. They all exhibit an array of texts in which the Bible contradicts itself, or is contradicted by science or history, as they think. They are all flippant, ignorant, and conceited; shallow pretenders, and idle dreamers. Yet these men have numerous followers, and help to keep multitudes from even outward conformity to religious ordinances, if in no other way by influencing their love of excitement, and attracting them to listen to debate. It may gratify the reader to be told that where these men have been met on neutral ground and equal terms, during the last three years especially, they have made no perceptible addition of converts; their power has considerably diminished; and what is most observable, several of the very advocates have renounced their unbelief, and professed themselves Christians.

It is by no means likely that infidel declaimers should make many converts by their public Sunday work. The mischief is wrought by other means and at other times. An accusing conscience not rarely leads a man to commit moral and spiritual suicide by rushing into the darkness of avowed infidelity. Nobody can deny that the sceptical party, if so mild a term is applicable, shew considerable skill in playing their cards. The game is a critical one, and the stake no trifle, but those who play it little reckon the ultimate results, if now they can but seem to win. But clever as they are, they for the most part have but few resources, and a careful study of the tactics of any one for a short time would enable a competent man "to double him up," as they say. One of them explains all religious history and doctrine as so much myth or mythology, and allegory. Another finds in Christianity the correlative of Buddhism, and other old systems. A third will admit the historical basis of

the Gospel, but deny special facts and its divine origin altogether. A fourth treats Christianity as originally a reformation of Judaism, but augmented and corrupted by the priests. Some teach Atheism in its blankest form: there neither is a God nor can be one, and the entire domain of the supernatural is a fiction. Some few are Pantheists, but the larger number attack the Bible and the Churches. The Bible, say they, is opposed to science, and reason, and human interests, as well as to history. Geology, astronomy, chemistry, etc., etc., all contradict it, and it contradicts itself. The Authorized Version is their text-book, and they sturdily oppose any rectification or explanation of it. The texts assailed may almost all of them be soon learned, and it will be found that the men draw their objections from some common source. The incessant repetition of the same accusations is characteristic of these opposers. As for their charges against the Churches and Christians in general, they are not very numerous, but, they are spiteful and foolish.

In some cases the objections derived professedly from science are backed up by well-known names. It is a common assertion that all the best men of science in England, France, and Germany, reject the Bible. This idea is most diligently promulgated. But where do they get it from? Partly from infidel publications, but quite as much from men, who, like Bradlaugh ("Iconoclast") and Dr. Perfitt, are regarded as oracles, and deliver their harangues to numerous audiences. We will not publish the names of the most active street declaimers, because there is not one of them that has a particle of self-respect and modesty, nor one that has even a decent share of information, to say nothing of honesty. Yet to these men thousands of the working classes listen in the course of every year.

The irreligion of multitudes is not of this active character, but is more passive and indifferent. They will send their children to day-schools and Sunday-schools, and do not prevent them from reading the Scriptures. Their irreligion manifests itself in a variety of ways; and for the sake of exhibiting these in a summary form we shall endeavour to classify them.

1. Some do not like confinement, and stay away from church on that account.
2. Some do not like the restraints which religion imposes upon men.
3. Some are irreligious in consequence of political speculations.
4. An undefined sentiment, which may be called caste-feeling, associates many working-men in the neglect of religion and its ordinances.
5. Personal immorality of various kinds.
6. Sheer carelessness and indifference, which finds it convenient to avoid religious admonition and influences.
7. Doctrinal peculiarities, involving eccentric notions about the non-necessity or impropriety of public worship.
8. Scientific fancies which take a sceptical tinge, because it is imagined that Christianity and its teachers are behind the age.
9. Literary fancies which also assume a sceptical aspect, because it is supposed that preachers, etc., are afraid of the spread of knowledge and do not promote it.
10. Sectarian prejudices against all the religious communities in a given locality.
11. Ecclesiastical prejudices against all paid ministers of the Gospel.
12. An unreasoning dislike of all religion.
13. Restlessness and love of change.
14. A notion that ministers are always threatening eternal perdition to such as do not believe just what they preach.

There are doubtless many other causes, but it is quite certain that the reasons and excuses alleged by the men themselves are not altogether true. The foregoing we have gathered from personal observation; and inasmuch as they do not in all cases represent the pleas advanced by the neglecters of public worship, we shall append a list of those which we have actually heard from their own lips. This course will involve some repetition, but it is important to let them speak for themselves. However frivolous and unjust some of the items in our list may appear, we think it better to set forth the whole. They are copied from notes made by us when we have heard them during the last

three or four years. They are in fact the vindication of their conduct by the open profaners of the Lord's day, and the habitual neglecters of public worship. So far as they embody an impeachment of particular classes, churches or observances, they inform us of the ideas and fancies which have got abroad. But whatever they may be, a knowledge of them is essential to those who would devise means for recovering the masses who live in the neglect of our holy religion.

Before giving the list it may be remarked that on Jan. 21st a conference was held at the London Coffee House, convened by the circular from which we give the following extract:—"It is generally supposed that the large majority of skilled artisans in England are alienated from our existing religious institutions, and indifferent to public worship in the churches. It has been thought desirable to convene a Conference, to be composed in about equal proportions of working-men, who wish well to the moral interests of their country, and of persons, lay and clerical, connected with various Christian Churches, for the purpose of ascertaining the extent and the causes of this popular indifference. It is not proposed to include within the scope of this Conference the expression of objections which may be felt to the truth of Christianity, or to consider the evidence of particular doctrines which may be incidentally referred to; but only to inquire what are the objections, political, theological, or social, entertained against existing religious organizations by those who do not profess antagonism to the Christian religion, and to ascertain how far such objections really account for the alleged alienation of working-men from the Churches. With this limitation in the object of the Conference, the freest utterances will be invited from all parties, in the hope that mutual explanations may ultimately lead to a better understanding and practical improvements."

It will be seen that the promoters did not intend to entertain the objections of sceptics in any sense; but to learn the political, theological, and social objections to existing religious organizations, by the simple neglecters of religious ordinances. As a matter of fact, however, sceptics were present, and more than one of them propounded their views. This was perhaps un-



avoidable. At the same time many things were said on both sides which ought to be remembered. Of the objections actually advanced few or none do not appear in the following list, which was drawn up before the Conference was held. The list also contains some topics not touched upon by the representatives of the working-men on the occasion in question. But their omission to mention them then may be partly due to want of time, to forgetfulness, and to other causes which will easily be guessed. It was not to be expected that the whole truth would come out. In accordance with the terms of the foregoing circular we have arranged the pleas alleged under three heads, commencing with the political, which is grim enough.

### *I. Political Reasons.*

1. The State Church is a political Church, because it is established and upheld by civil law and government.

2. Archbishops and Bishops are great lords, sitting in parliament, and possessing power and rank merely as ministers of the Church.

3. There ought to be no State endowments of religion; whereas government money is granted for all sorts of purposes in connection with the churches.

4. Tithes, Church-rates, etc., are impositions, and nobody ought to be forced to pay for any other man's religion.

5. Nobody ought to be liable to civil penalties for his opinions, or because he does not go to church; but people are sent to prison for not going to church, and this shews that the Church has no claim to respect.

6. Clerical magistrates ought not to be appointed; whereas they are often the greatest tyrants and oppressors of the poor.

7. Religion is used as an engine to keep the people under, and to make them satisfied with what they can get.

8. The clergy do not trouble themselves about getting reform, better laws, and better government for poor people.

### *II. Theological Reasons.*

1. Christianity does not require men to go to churches and chapels.

2. The hostility and mutual condemnation of sects, who hate one another.

3. The differences of opinion and practice among members of the same churches,—as Ritualists, Rationalists, and Evangelicals, High Church, Broad Church, Low Church, etc.

4. There are so many religions one cannot tell which is right; and it is quite certain all must be wrong but one.

5. The inconsistencies, worldliness, and other delinquencies of ministers shew that they are not to be trusted.

6. The professors of religion do not seem to be better than other people.

7. So many go to church and chapel for the sake of the loaves and fishes.

8. The cry is always for money; and working-men cannot afford to be ever paying pew rents and seat rents, and at collections, and all sorts of things.

9. So much respect is paid to men of rank, position and money. A poor man is stuck in a dark corner, and a fine lady or gentlemen gets the best place.

10. You may go for a year to a church or a chapel, and nobody will speak to you.

11. The services are too long.

12. There is so little in the prayers and preaching that is fit for plain people, nothing lively, and interesting and instructive.

13. Some cannot find the places in the prayer books, and do not like to seem ignorant.

14. Religion is made a trade of.

15. Men can worship God anywhere.

16. The parsons cannot teach us more than we know. It's all in the Bible.

17. God is not a hard master, and we hope He will be merciful to us.

18. Every man must be guided by his own conscience; and we live in a free country.

19. There are so many hypocrites.

20. Nobody else will have to answer for us.

### III. *Social Reasons.*

1. That religion requires men to be so strict, to pull a long face, to abstain from amusements and indulgences, and to be always praying and reading the Bible. [This applies to men

whose habits are more or less lax, and cannot bear the idea of moral control.]

2. That Sunday is the only time for the family to meet, and have a good dinner, and spend the day together.

3. That it is the only day for a little pleasure and enjoyment.

4. That it is the only day for exercise in the fresh air.

5. That it is the only day for rest, quiet, and relaxation.

6. That it is the only day for reading a newspaper.

7. That it is the only day for talking over politics and all sorts of things with one's friends.

8. That it is the only day for doing odd jobs, taking medicine, mending, putting things in order, etc.

9. That it is the only day for visiting.

10. That one's neighbours do the same as himself, and one don't care to seem peculiar.

11. That a great many gentlefolks stay away; and those who go only go for fashion, display, to be looked at, etc., and one don't care to be where they are.

12. Some will not go to a place of worship to please their masters and other folks.

13. Some stay away because they are no hypocrites.

14. Some mean to go when they are older, but they mean to enjoy life a little longer. There is time enough yet.

15. Some cannot dress well enough to go among fine people.

16. Others like to attend the preaching and public discussions held in the open air, or they go to listen to discussions in rooms in winter.

17. Some do not know why they never go; perhaps they know nobody at church or chapel, have never been asked, or have never had a call from a minister all their life.

18. Some cannot attend to what is said at a place of worship, it requires so much effort that they get no rest: it is as bad as being at work.

19. People who do not go seem as well off as those that are always at church or chapel.

The foregoing are given in all their native roughness. The arrangement is not at all perfect, but that is not a matter of great importance. What is wanted is a clear and truthful

enumeration of the various pleas alleged as reasons for neglecting religious duties by men who are not avowed unbelievers in Christianity. As a matter of fact, however, a considerable number of the preceding items are included among the popular objections to religion itself; and it is easy to perceive a tinge of real scepticism in not a few of them. Some of them we should positively attribute to lurking unbelief. This unbelief crops out far more frequently than might be expected, and predisposes its subjects in favour of positive rejection of revelation. A good number of these excuses again are more or less the offspring of immoral habits or inclinations. The men know well enough that the Gospel requires personal holiness, and cannot tolerate iniquity, but they are wedded to their secret or open sins, and do not like the religion that condemns them. It is remarkable how much of the responsibility is thrown upon the National Church by those who practically renounce it, and yet will not ally themselves with any of the denominations. There is a singular and deep-rooted prejudice against official religion, and all official persons connected with religious communities. The clergy of all orders, deacons of dissenting churches, and even city missionaries, are constantly blamed by men who are hostile to religious duties. Even where there is not avowed dislike, there is too often mistrust, a want of respect, and the absence of affection. But it must be noted that the antipathy is not universal, for a great many will not deny and scarcely excuse their neglect; hence, while it appears that the neglect is wonderfully general, the culpable parties are by no means of the same mind.

This circumstance suggests that no uniform rule for their recovery can be laid down. The disease is manifold, and the remedy must be manifold as well.

To some extent the want of confidence in the regular institutions of religion is fostered by those who undertake to preach the Gospel in the open air. Much as we regret this fact, it is nevertheless undeniable. If we are asked who are the men that thus indirectly add to the mischief, and by whom they are commissioned, we can only say that we do not know who send them out, but they are "open air preachers." In all probability they

are men who are not commissioned at all, but, because they like preaching, go out to preach. We have frequently heard these so-called preachers railing against churches and sects, the clergy and religious professors. In a few cases we believe the men are not associated with any known religious community, but are ambitious of gathering disciples who shall combine with them to form a little clique or party. We know of one instance in which apparently some four or five men and a woman appear to be at once the apostles and members of the sect which they constitute; we name them not, but they are very active in declaiming against all churches, and in preaching their own personal excellencies. Such persons are very decided Pharisees we may be sure; and we may also be sure that if they make no converts, they deepen existing prejudices against public worship.

The following extracts, from a printed document which was placed in our hands, may fairly be introduced in the present connection. We make no comment upon them:—

“We are now told that in England we have ‘passing before our eyes a scene more awful than the wreck of any material world—the wreck of souls stranded by hundreds of thousands on the shores of eternity: that the religion of the working classes in England is, *with few exceptions*, neglect of Christianity, neglect of its Bible, neglect of its worship;’ that ‘not more than five per cent. of these classes are in the habit of joining their fellow-countrymen in the study of Christianity, or in the worship of their Maker,’ and that ‘there is no escape from the conclusion that these masses are not much interested in Christianity, and that most of them are not interested in it at all!’”

“And how comes this to pass? Who has had the training of these classes from the infant school to the working man’s club?

“Just as the twig is bent the tree’s inclined.”

So writes the poet: then who bends the twig?

“‘Train up a child in the way he should go, and when he is old he will not depart from it.’ Thus wrote the wise king of Israel. And who trains the children of our working classes? Go to the infant schools, the Sunday schools, the British

schools, the national schools. You will find them there by hundreds of thousands. Go to our churches and chapels. You will find them there . . . . . And yet these little ones, we are told, when they grow up to man's estate, 'have the strongest objection imaginable to going to church or chapel, and dislike the very buildings where Christianity has taken up its abode!'

"And what is the remedy for such a fearful state of society as this? 'Is there no balm in Gilead? Is there no physician there?' 'The common people'—the working classes of Judæa and Galilee,—heard Jesus gladly, for he taught them as one having authority, and not as the Scribes.' But the Scribes were the legitimate, authorized, recognized, accredited teachers of the day, and possessed all the authority which education, position, and wealth could give them. And do not the legitimate, accredited, and recognized preachers of the present day possess the same authority? How, then, comes it to pass that 'the common people' do not hear them gladly? We are told that 'with very few exceptions, they preach the gospel of Christ faithfully in all things which it is of importance that men should know;' and yet 'the working classes, with few exceptions, wholly refuse to give their presence or their sympathy to what goes on in the edifices dedicated to the promulgation or practice of Christianity!' . . . . .

"If the preachers say to their hearers, '*there is dignity in wealth*, and it is sheer hypocrisy to deny it,' or if they tell them that 'a man may come to Jesus Christ for pardon, and receive pardon, and *know* that he is a saved man, and yet continue for ten, fifteen, or twenty years as worldly-minded, as selfish, and as covetous as ever, simply because he does not come to Jesus Christ for sanctification,' we need not be surprised if we find that 'our churches and chapels are filled Sunday after Sunday with the nobles and gentry, and the comfortable middle classes,' while 'the great body of handworkers are not to be found there.'

"Or if the preaching of the Gospel is classed (by the preachers themselves), with the trades and professions of the world, or with the pleadings of a Chancery barrister, or a county-court lawyer, we need not marvel if 'the skilled work-

men say, and their unskilled companions cheerfully re-echo the statement, that they do not go to church or chapel because they do not wish to bring themselves into bondage to any sort of parson, priest, or minister, and especially to those who are obviously actuated, in their teaching, by selfish motives.' "

The long list of reasons which we have inserted above must not be left without a few remarks. And the first thing which will strike any reasonable person is, that not one of them, nor all of them together, will be found sufficient to justify the neglect of the means of grace. The first group is simply an impeachment of the Established Church, and is applicable to it alone. It is not necessary to ask whether the allegations are true or false, though some of them are plainly foolish. But suppose they were all true in some sense, it by no means follows that the laborious and godly clergyman who seeks to lead men to Christ and heaven should be neglected and despised. If in any case men are offended or annoyed by claims urged on the ground of law, the circumstance is to be regretted, but the offended party should think twice before he allows himself to be turned away from Christ's service by any grievance. Whether the modification of existing ecclesiastical arrangements would be rewarded by greater spiritual power and popularity, is a problem which here we shall not discuss. As for religion being a state engine to keep people under, it is untrue of the country in which we live; or if not absolutely untrue, it is so nearly so, that we have found no modern example to prove it. The clergy of all denominations are among the most active promoters of popular knowledge, as they are among the most distinguished representatives of philosophy, science, and learning. They have done more perhaps than any other class to raise our nation to its present intellectual level. But when we are told they are not reformers, we can only say that this is only partially a fact. The Christian clergy have ever, as a body, distinguished themselves in this country by their consideration for public rights. They are not levellers and revolutionists, political firebrands and demagogues, and it would ill become their sacred function to become such. They are the staunch friends of law and order, and their good sense, learning, and moral principle will always

tend to keep them so. But we are fully convinced that the ministers of all denominations among us are the tried upholders of right and liberty. Suppose, however, that there are exceptions, these do not justify such a sweeping assertion as that which we are compelled to hear; still less do they justify a withdrawal from all the ordinances of religion. Public worship is of divine appointment, and the fallibility of ministers is no valid plea for neglecting God's ordinance. There are in London, and elsewhere, ministers enough whose whole life proves that they love men, and seek their real good both for this world and the next; why not go to hear *them*? But perhaps it is of little use reasoning with unreason, and some other means must be devised for encountering the difficulty. If other excuses can be removed, the political ones may cease to be operative.

Let us then proceed to the reasons we have for convenience called "Theological," although in truth very few of them are such. That Christianity does not require men to go to churches and chapels, is merely another way of saying that it does not enjoin social worship; but this is easily answered by an appeal to Christian practice and precept as set forth in the New Testament. That sectarian antipathies are an evil is not to be denied, but the evil is notoriously exaggerated, and by no means characterises all denominations, still less all congregations. To allege it is an idle, if not a malevolent excuse for profanity. Nor need the differences of opinion and practice among professors of the same religious body stand in the way. They seldom affect the essentials of religion, and their existence is not an unmixed evil, because they render it practicable for any one to follow his own tendencies. Still, there is no doubt that outsiders find it difficult to understand such things, and infer from them a general uncertainty as to what religion requires. The allegation that there are so many religions that one cannot tell which is right, and that all of them must be wrong save one, is a confession that the speaker has not taken the trouble to examine the subject. He will refer to Judaism, Mohammedanism, Buddhism, or Brahminism; or he will instance Calvinism and Arminianism; or he will specify Episcopalianism, Presbyterianism



and Independency; or he will be content with alleging Romanism and Protestantism. Such a man is unquestionably perverse and superficial, and nothing can be done with him till he can be brought to look at facts much more closely than he has been wont to do. He has never even asked himself what constitutes different religions.

The faults of Christian ministers and professors are a standing accusation, and are constantly urged in excuse of the neglect of religion. It is doubtless a calamity that there should be any ground for such complaints, but to vindicate irreligion by these inconsistencies shews that the obligations of personal piety are not understood. As it regards money, there is no doubt of its necessity, but those who have the love of God in their hearts are always willing to consecrate of their substance to the Giver of every good gift. Such an excuse is mere selfishness, and comes with an ill grace from men who are so ready to squander their hard-earned pittance upon drink and pleasure, and other objects of no real value.

Far more serious is the accusation that the rich and poor are not equally attended to. There is, however, exaggeration and unreason even here. Men have an instinct which they cannot lose, and which prompts them to associate most with persons of their own class. If a clergyman visits the poor, and sits down in a cottage which is neither tidy nor wholesome, he knows that it is a sacrifice and an act of self-denial. And so it would be an act of sacrifice and self-denial, if persons accustomed to better things had to associate in a place of worship on Sundays with all sorts of people. The classes will naturally separate, and it cannot be prevented. At the same time the poor have just cause for loud complaint, because in most places of worship the best positions are monopolized by the better sort, and the poor must be content with what is left. The rich claim this preference as a sort of right, because they contribute so large a proportion of the entire expenses. Even when all the seats are "free and unappropriated for ever" the division is more or less observed, although less so than in some fashionable places where "*Noli me tangere*" seems addressed to every unfashionable person. There are churches and dissenting

chapels which are well attended, the sittings let for a high rent, the respectable classes attend, and money itself will not command a position. In such places your pew openers and attendants are expected to reserve vacant sittings until any chance of the renters' coming is over, or until a certain time, and they request strangers of all degrees to wait and see whether there is room left for them. To call worship in such places "public worship" is a misnomer, because they are to all intents and purposes the private chapels of the seat holders; every pew or seat is transformed into a private box. Probably even here, however, certain benches and corners are reserved for those who do not pay seat rents, but their occupants feel humbled by their position. What can be done? The scale on which churches and chapels are now built is commonly too small, and determined rather by pecuniary considerations than an estimate of the wants of the locality. We like architecture, but we believe that it would be far more religious to provide room for three thousand persons by the expenditure of twenty thousand pounds, than by the lavishing of the same sum to accommodate one thousand. A great deal of the money spent upon luxurious details of ornament, ought to go to provide the poor with sitting-room. We do not suppose we shall be heard amid the present rage for the alteration of old churches and the erection of new ones on so costly a scale. But so long as this lasts they that wear soft raiment will dwell in the "King's houses," and the people at large will wander in their own way. There is a Nemesis for every abuse, and the gorgeous splendour and vast expense of modern church work will be no exception. It tends more than anything to draw more distinctly than ever the line of demarcation between the men who have money and the men who have none; and that where it should be least perceptible. The clergy may do all in their power in their respective congregations, and this is the only way to diminish and mitigate a grievance which has slowly grown up among us. As a matter of fact, we believe that very little blame is attached to the clergy in the matter, or not more blame than belongs to other persons. Nay, we believe that many of both clergy and laity would scorn to detract in any way from the comfort of the poor in God's

house, or to contract in any way the space which they require. But so long as there is so inadequate provision made for the population, so long will there be a show of reason, if no more, in the popular declaration, that "if we go to a place of worship, the externally respectable is preferred before us." At the London Coffee House Conference one speaker read a quantity of texts from St. James's Epistle which he said ministers were afraid to preach from, because they forbid the exaltation of worldly rank and wealth in Christian assemblies.

That one may go to a church or chapel for a year and not be spoken to, is a simple matter of fact. The question is, whose duty it is to speak first; but inasmuch as the stranger usually expects this compliment, it would be well if he received it. So far as this objection is founded in truth, we think it scarcely peculiar to working men. We have heard of others who have attended a place of worship for years, and have scarcely had a word with any member of the congregation. It may be asked, what is the clergyman doing? Some of the clergy never visit their flocks; some of them do not know how to deal with instances like those we have in view. Not knowing their names and residences, unless these can be found out for him, the minister cannot visit the people. But we believe there are faults on both sides, and that while congregations should not be forgetful to entertain strangers, strangers should do something towards facilitating acquaintance. One thing is manifest, and it is that the minister cannot be expected to learn all about everybody he sees in his Church. He addresses them generally, he prays for and with them, but as religious services are now arranged, he has no personal contact with them. He comes from his mysterious sacristy or vestry like a being from another world; all he says and does and the very positions he occupies keep up the illusion, and when he disappears and enters again into his *sanctum sanctorum*, the hallucination is perfected. The audience come and go, but there is a great gulf between them and their ministers. We know that this idea of a great gulf is favoured by many of the clergy who would raise their order into a caste. But it is a grievous mistake to suppose that sacerdotal prerogative and power render immaterial the actual pre-

sence and participation of the people in divine worship. Of course there are occasions where extreme Ritualists, whether from Oxford or from Rome, wish to have as many as possible in attendance; but even then how far off they stand! How incommunicable they are! The eye, the ear, the senses, and the imagination are appealed to in such a way as to make the people feel themselves in the presence of another order of beings. Attachments formed under such circumstances may be little better than idolatry, and the recognition of the awful and supernatural powers which some claim, may come still nearer to idolatry. These, however, are cases with which we have not much to deal. Divine worship, as conducted in almost all churches and chapels, sets the people at too great a distance from the minister. On Sunday, when he should be most accessible, he is most inaccessible, and when he should come nearest he is farthest removed. During the rest of the week the opposite occurs. The shepherd who visits his poor flock finds them absent from home at their work, or busied with domestic cares, and hence intercommunion is then next to impossible. The great problem to be solved is how to bring the two classes into contact, for without this they will not understand each other, and the people will remain by thousands without confidence in the men that watch for their souls.

Another point is the length of the services. On Sunday mornings the time is oftener over than under two hours for a service at church, and not much less at a dissenting chapel. It is further true that the services are destitute of liveliness; that the preaching especially is too elaborate and not colloquial enough. Popular preachers are never dull and prosy, and however finished their sermons, the delivery is not that of a theological essay. In the Church of England the service is needlessly involved by the position of the prayers, etc., to find which people have to turn the leaves of their books to and fro. The books have no index and pagination to facilitate the process, and hence ignorant and unpractised persons get perplexed and annoyed. It is much to be desired that praying and preaching should assume a form more in accordance with the habits and wants of the multitude. There is reluctance enough on their

parts to come at all, and when they come they should not have imposed upon them a task and a burden.

The remaining objections of this class (14—20) are captious, and call for persuasion and kind admonition rather than argument. They are the utterances of an irreligious spirit, and must be dealt with accordingly.

What we have called social reasons are miscellaneous enough; and though very frivolous for the most part, are difficult to deal with. The first which concerns the requirements of religion is the language of rebellion against God: religion is strict and serious, hostile to immorality, and involves habits and exercises of piety. The question raised is whether men can serve God and Mammon. They know this cannot be, and so they deliberately choose the service of Mammon.

The excuses, numbers 2—9, bring us into contact with the Sunday question, as it is called. They indicate with sufficient precision many of the ways in which London artizans spend their time. They do not, however, represent the whole truth. They make no allusion to Sunday trading, which is often a consequence of Saturday night revels and dissipation. Again, certain classes are occupied on Saturdays till midnight, and on into Sunday morning, and on Sundays they want to lie in bed late, and then to get up and lounge about. The Sunday public house, "the church with a chimney in it," does a great amount of harm, because in addition to the legal hours of opening, there are other times when drink can be surreptitiously obtained. We remember once seeing twelve or fourteen men admitted all together to a beer house in Bethnal Green during "church-time" on a Sunday morning. "Three and sixpence to Brighton and back," "Nine hours at the sea side," and similar announcements carry away not a few. But we do not think this worse than the flaunting, fluttering, and parading of the fashionable throngs at what their silliness calls the "Zoo." Nor do the working men forget all this, any more than they forget the Saturday night carousals, and gilded revels of the great. For great men are not hid; and poor men have eyes. It does not take long to ascertain that no little of the church going of the "upper ten" is part and parcel of what they call "the right

thing to do." There is no religion in it; but it is the outgoing of pride, vanity, and the love of display. God have mercy on the silly souls that study how best to act their part at the solemn weekly farce in some fashionable west-end church! Why are the vices of the rich to be spared, and those of the poor to be condemned? Do we not know well enough that when the great set a true example of reverence for God and his worship the poor will be benefited by it? Do we not know that if the rich make Sunday a day of pleasure-seeking and frivolity to themselves, and of extra work to their servants, the poor will act accordingly? It is doubtful whether the very act of going to church does not often create as much work, and work of the same kind, as going to an opera or a ball. Well, if our nobles will not keep the day holy themselves, nor help others to do it, they must bear a part of the guilt of the neglect of the ignorant people who imitate them. It is very certain that Christ and His apostles scourged the vices of the rich as much as they did those of the poor.

We are aware that fashionable vices do not excuse unfashionable ones; and, therefore, we say that religion is a personal affair between God and the soul, and hence that whatever others may do, each man is under a direct and unalterable obligation to God. So much seems called for by the preceding remarks about the inconsistencies of the rich.

It is a curious fact that if some men learn that it is the wish of their employers, or of others, that they should attend public worship, they are all the more likely to stay away. They will not go to please anybody. Oh, no, that would offend their dignity, which an unreasoning exhibition of caprice and self-will does not. The very common saying that they will not go because they are no hypocrites, implies a notion that only the religious should go to the church. This is a dangerous delusion, because it keeps them from the only place where they are likely to come under the direct and salutary influences of Christianity. The spirit of procrastination has long been abroad, and "the sowing of wild oats" is as well understood in the world as "death-bed repentance" is in the Church.

The excuses based upon inadequate attire are not wholly

undeserving of sympathy. Only think of a man who has but one shirt in the world, and goes without it on Sunday because that is the day for washing it! Very often, however, the pawnbroker, "the uncle" of so many of the poor of London, is in actual possession of the decent wardrobe of the men, women, and children whom we see in dishabille on Sunday. "The vestment question" is of as much practical moment among the "great unwashed" as it is in another region. "Wherewithal shall we be clothed?" they exclaim, and if they cannot indulge the natural love of finery and display, they will stay away from church altogether. Ragged churches and similar places may do very well in certain localities, but they will not count for much in others. Nor do we believe in their general desirableness, as they may tend to pauperize those whom we want to elevate; many are too proud to go to them, and they may help to foster the caste and class distinctions which are like fire,—very good servants but very bad masters. We have no wish to see sumptuary laws established again, but it would be well for the nation if fashion were less fickle and changeable. The rapidity and variety of transformations through which men and women must pass who follow the fashion is almost incredible. They may well talk about the *devotees* of fashion, for none but devotees could in our day fulfil her behests. But not to moralize, and not to speak of the thought, and labour, and expense, required by those who would not be counted "slow," even if they do not wish to be called "fast," (and by the way this word "fast" is even applied to certain attitudes, etc., in God's professed worship!) we are afraid that the changes of modern fashion most injuriously affect the humbler classes. The wives and daughters of the poor are tempted to pay higher prices "for fashion," and a comparatively worthless article involves fresh outlay for "altering." Whether in high life or in low life, "nothing to wear" very often means "behind the mode and fashion of the day." In former times a check was put upon these things, and plain, durable and modest garments satisfied the ambition of the class which now suffers so severely from the excessive influence of fashion. Those who do not or cannot follow fashion, are very often unwilling to go to places

of worship where it is in the ascendant. Many skilled artizans earn such high wages that they can dress well, and are apt to do so, and from such of course we do not hear of this excuse about clothes.

Preaching and discussions in the open air attract large numbers in summer, among whom are many who sometimes go to church or chapel, but many more who never go. We think these out-door engagements keep some away from regular worship, but they induce some to attend, and they attract many who never do or will attend a place of worship. What is meant by preaching on these occasions need not be explained. And we have already intimated the kinds of subjects discussed. Last year there was a growing tendency to discuss politics, which can be readily accounted for; teetotal lectures are not infrequent, but religious controversy is pre-eminent. Men of all extremes come together,—Jews, Romanists, Atheists, sceptics of every shade, Protestants of all denominations, and people claiming to have new revelations! One poor Scotchman, named Kirkwood, has come from Queensland, and wanders about London trying to persuade people that he is Elijah the prophet. He is attended by a man from Islington. They are to be pitied, but they talk and print the wildest and most incoherent rhapsodies. We only mention them to shew how great a variety is to be met with, and how curious some of the attractions at the points of meeting. The suppression of such gatherings is to be deprecated because it would only drive the majority of the frequenters to still less desirable scenes. If foul-mouthed blasphemy and brazen-faced impiety are encountered, they are commonly confronted by earnest Christian men, some of whom are singularly qualified to deal with them.

Of the winter discussions we need not say much. They take place in rooms hired for the purpose, at coffee-shops, and the like. At some of these places one man usually takes the lead in an address of twenty minutes or upwards, and he is followed by others who controvert or support his views. The opener of the debate closes the discussion. At a coffee-shop the listeners regale themselves with tea and coffee, and complacently smoke their pipes, assenting and dissenting without much restraint.



These meetings take place in the evening, but sometimes in the morning; and evening conferences also take place during the week. There are in London gentlemen by birth and education who follow working men to these houses, and endeavour to lead them to truth and salvation. Thus, from year's end to year's end the battle between truth and error is continued, and voluntary Christian self-sacrifice is every day to be witnessed. We have seen so much in connection with this sort of thing that we feel justified in commending the Christians who take part in it to the sympathy and prayers of those who have no practical acquaintance with it. It is not every one who has the courage, presence of mind, readiness of utterance, fitness of speech, and intellectual furniture demanded by this form of irregular lay agency. The agents of the London City Mission take some part in it; but it is extra official, and they are not always so well fitted for discussion as for plain exhortation. We think much more good might be done in this direction if educated Christian laymen could be more largely employed. For this a special organization and special preparation might be required, but should not be unattainable. The parties engaged should co-operate with the clergy, and be aided by them; but it would be undesirable that they should be either paid, or should appear in any proper official capacity. Everything official contends with serious disadvantages, whereas voluntary association is not objected to. If the parties thus occupied would recommend particular places of worship it would be all the better, and would meet the objection about never having been asked.

The remaining points in the list of excuses call for no particular examination. Whatever may be thought of the pleas alleged, the great fact confronts us that a vast body of our fellow-citizens habitually neglects the ordinary means of grace. This is the fact with which we have to deal; and to do that aright we must make ourselves acquainted with it in all its bearings. Whatever Christian zeal and wisdom can do should be done. If the people will not come to the church, the church must go to the people. It must go out into the streets and lanes of the city, into the highways and byeways. There is no alternative; and the only question is, how it shall be done. We know that

many admirable agencies are at work, and that much good is done ; but we know, too, that the mass of irreligion remains undiminished. Such are the changes which take place in the population, and so constant are the additions which it receives, that the means now at our command are utterly inadequate. The hands of the working clergy are full ; and they can simply look on in mute astonishment. They cannot leave their proper sphere. What then shall be done ? The first thing, perhaps, is to try and render existing agencies more efficient. There should be an endeavour to adapt preaching and worship, more than it is, to the changed character of the working-class. In particular, sermons should be made more instructive, and less formal and precise. Every facility should be rendered to those who would attend a place of worship. The press might be used with more effect. The character of religious tracts is often far from appropriate ; and a determined effort might be made to conform them more to popular habits of thought and speech. Rooms and halls could be opened for familiar exposition of the claims and evidences of religion. If such places were properly conducted, there is no doubt they would be attractive ; but everything must be what is known as " free and easy," because formality cannot be endured. In these no sermons should be preached, but lectures and addresses should be delivered ; and any devotional exercise should not exceed a few minutes' duration. Permission should be allowed to ask questions, or even to state difficulties and objections. The entire proceedings might be as informal as St. Paul's conferences with the Greeks of his time. These men are Christians in no proper sense of the term, and must be dealt with accordingly. What care they about having been baptized in infancy ? Nothing at all. What care they about having been confirmed ? Nothing whatever. The only practical difference between them and the heathen is that they already know something of the Saviour and his gospel, and that some admit their responsibility. A good many as openly dislike and revile Christians and Christianity as the Romans did in the time of Tacitus. But if some thousands of such men could be brought within the walls of buildings like those we have suggested, it would be a step in

advance, and might lead to better things. To carry out such a project would involve the necessity of funds and agents; but why should this prevent an attempt? Let experiments be tried at certain points, and if they succeed let more be done; but do not let the people perish in ignorance and unbelief.

A fixed ministry over settled congregations is in accordance with order and expediency. But, besides this, there might be a body of lay brothers who could do the pioneering and more irregular work. The generals of a campaigning army know well the value of special agencies, and they use it. But the Church is not sufficiently militant, and does not sufficiently attack the outposts of the enemy. It may be "the strong man armed;" but it must not be content to keep its house and its goods at peace. Those who ought to be associated with it are dropping away and renouncing their allegiance. Many of them are actually undermining the citadel they have deserted. The honour of the Church requires that something special and decided should be attempted. The interests of the Gospel demand the same. The glory of Christ must not be sullied by the wholesale apostacy of men called Christians. Civil society is concerned in the matter; for when men renounce the obligations of religion, they are in danger of becoming bad citizens and disloyal subjects. We know that this last is a frequent occurrence; for our ears have often been offended by wicked and factious utterances. That the present and future well-being of the men themselves is at stake should rouse the deepest sympathies of the Christian heart.

The recovery of our industrial population to a public acknowledgment of religious ordinances would be a grand and glorious achievement—better than the conquest of an empire or the discovery of a continent. It would heap upon them untold blessings, and deliver them from a myriad perils. The vice, the misery, the drunkenness, the blasphemy, the class prejudice, the discontent, the ignorance, and other evils which now haunt and torment their victims, would disappear from our streets. So many churches and chapels as now are half deserted would present a different aspect; new sanctuaries would stand before us on every side; the voice of joy and praise

would be heard, and the smile of comfort and gladness would be seen. The millennium would be at our very doors.

Such would be the future ; and surely every endeavour to shed one ray of that brightness upon the population of our towns and cities would be doubly blessed, and would be recognized by Him that was " anointed to preach the gospel to the poor."

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*The First Fruits.*—How truly great and sublime are the works of our Creator ! Wherever we look, we behold how stupendous are his creations ; the splendour of the sun, with its dazzling rays, its sparkling brightness, its brilliant reflections, convincing us that light, light was the greatest object with which we should become endowed. Upon this substantial rock rests this great world ; it is, in fact, the material, the first beginning of the fibres of this vast compact ; for the earth was void, and without form, and God said, " Let there be light, and there was light." This was, indeed, the first fruit of the creation. What a striking lesson, then ! The great globe contains an unbounded centre, with its unfathomable seas, whose mysteries yet remain unravelled, its burning craters, its gigantic mountains, its untold resources of wealth, its hidden treasures of magnificence. These all tend to one great object—light. How worthy the consideration, then, to strictly obey the scriptural injunction of " Seek, and thou shalt find." How illustrative, then, are God's first fruits, and convincing are the proofs that the main idea was to place at man's disposal those unexplored depths of mystery, and that God created him in his own image, with the powerful faculties of reasoning ; that he must seek ere he can find that truly great benefactor of the human race—namely, light. Is it not the first fruit of civilization, the stepping-stone of intelligence, the great fabric of all important undertakings, the golden rule of truth with its silvery lining ? As there are caverns of darkness whose impenetrable depths of uselessness appal those whose curiosity might lead them to penetrate into their recesses, so are there multitudes of human beings whose untutored souls are corrupted with dark vices, and through whose breasts will not penetrate one ray of light to induce them to feel that they are a part of this vast area of space, a minute part of this great universe ; therefore the first fruits of man should be like the first fruits of his Creator—light, bright and brilliant shining light.—*The Progress.*

### **RITES AND CEREMONIES.—I. LAW AND LIBERTY.\***

THE New Testament is in this country generally accepted as the statute-book of Christianity ; and whatever cannot be fairly deduced from it is regarded with suspicion. Nor is this common opinion to be lightly set aside ; for it is unreasonable to suppose that the Church has been less favoured by its Founder than the Synagogue was. The Jew had in his Old Testament, and especially in the Pentateuch, all that was necessary for him to ascertain whether the forms and ceremonies he followed were or were not in harmony with the Divine mind. His religion was a revealed religion from first to last. Sacred rites, sacred seasons, sacred persons, sacred places, and sacred objects were all specified and endorsed in the holy book. However ambitious and innovating persons might devise and bring in various forms of will-worship, all such things were clearly both without sanction and contrary to the supreme code. That such persons did introduce novelties, and that they became

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\* 1. *La Liturgie Sacrée ; où toutes les parties et ceremonies de la Sainte Masse sont expliquées avec leurs mystères et antiquitez*, etc. Par Gilbert Grimaud. Lyon. 1666.

2. *Dictionnaire des Antiquités Chrétiennes*, etc. Par l'Abbé Martigny. Paris. 1865.

3. *Ritus Sacri a Sacerdotibus Aliisque Altaris Ministris Servandi, defectusque vitandi*, etc. Mechliniæ. 1749 (?).

4. *Hierurgia ; or, the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass ; with notes and dissertations elucidating its doctrines and ceremonies*, etc. By D. Rock, D.D. 1833.

5. *The Annotated Book of Common Prayer ; being a historical, ritual, and theological Commentary on the devotional system of the Church of England*. Edited by Rev. J. H. Blunt, M.A. London. 1866.

6. *A Manual of Christian Antiquities ; or, an account of the constitution, ministers, worship, discipline, and customs of the ancient Church*. By Rev. J. E. Riddle, M.A. London. 1839.

7. *Ancient Christianity exemplified in the private, domestic, social, and civil life of the primitive Christians, and in the original institutions, offices, ordinances, and rites of the Church*. By Lyman Coleman. Philadelphia. 1852.

8. *The Church and the World : Essays on questions of the day*. Edited by Rev. O. Shipley, M.A. London. 1866.

9. *The Directorium Anglicanum ; being a Manual of Directions for the right celebration of the Holy Communion*, etc. Third edition. Edited by Rev. F. G. Lee, D.C.L. London. 1866.

popular, does not in the least affect our position; because our Lord swept them away with one breath of his mouth, when he said, "Ye have made the commandment of God of none effect by your tradition;" or, as we elsewhere have it, "Making the Word of God of none effect through your tradition which ye have taught." The Scribes and Pharisees were never more certainly condemned for unauthorized additions to God's precepts than when Christ said, "In vain do they worship me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men."

But while the law was so precise, and its obligations so solemn, it is undeniable that a fair margin was left for voluntary expressions of pious gratitude and devotional feeling. They were to remain voluntary, however, and were not to be amalgamated with the uniformity of divine worship, so as either to expand its basis, add to its substance, or disguise its elements and features. No ingenuity of sophistry would have justified a Jew in setting up an image of God or man to assist his devotions. No Jesuit casuistry would have justified him in setting up an altar in his chapel, and offering upon it a mimic sacrifice representative of the great sacrifice offered at Jerusalem, and suggestive of it. In these and many other important details there was no place left for liberty and personal choice. Nor was there any divinely-appointed body that had authority to appoint such things. "The word of the law abideth for ever," was the principle on which they proceeded, or were clearly bound to proceed. And such a position involved all the elements of security and durability; whereas, if a man could have devised plausible excuses for setting aside the second commandment, or the law relating to the sacrifices, discord and ruin would have been imminent. The distinction between the idolater and the monotheist would have been often practically lost sight of, and the value of the real sacrifice would have been obscured by the imitation of it. The rigidity of the law is therefore as much to be admired as its flexibility in leaving the details of certain services to the preference and convenience of the worshipper.

Now, what is the position of Christianity? And what is the law which it has received in reference to divine worship?

We can hardly believe that the Church was left with an essentially imperfect legislation and organization. If Christ and his apostles founded the Church, they surely did more—they determined at least its principal arrangements, and all its cardinal doctrines. It is quite certain that they gave it the rites of baptism and the Lord's Supper, the institution of the Lord's Day, and at least two orders of ministers. There can be no doubt that they authorized and established public assemblies for prayer and praise, reading the Scriptures, and preaching. It is equally clear that they professed to embody in their teachings the whole of the cardinal doctrines and duties of religion. Amid much that is temporary, casual, and special, certain broad general principles are evidently conspicuous; and we may feel quite safe in regarding these principles as the whole substance of Catholic Christianity. In vain do we seek for any indications that the leading features of their religion could be altered at will in other times and countries. Yet alongside of all these distinct intimations there runs a thread of liberty; and the freedom of individuals is as unquestionable as the law, or, rather, forms part and parcel of the law. Hence it follows that Christians, alone or in community, have a right to make such arrangements for personal or public worship as shall enable them to accomplish its great ends with more convenience and profit. To such an extent is this apparent, that there seems to be no requirement of uniformity in the order and features of religious services. Christian assemblies are not denied the right of self-government, neither are they forbidden to associate together under some controlling body. As, however, union is voluntary, a return to separate independence may be quite legitimate. According to the principles on which Christians combine must be the arrangements and regulations which their common interests demand. Hence, a certain power of determining upon the adoption or rejection of particular forms and ceremonies not commanded or forbidden by the New Testament, and not inconsistent with it. Thus there may be adopted set forms of praise and prayer, and a certain order in reading the Scripture, particular modes of celebrating baptism and the Lord's Supper, and of ordaining ministers. May there

not also be allowed liberty to set apart certain special times and places for public worship? If so, we can admit the right to fix upon the internal arrangements of places of worship, and even a distinctive dress for the ministers. It is perhaps not easy to define exactly the limits and extent of this freedom, but it is easy to see that whatever is enacted in the exercise of it is human and temporary, and belongs not to the essence of Christianity. Nor is it desirable it should be otherwise; for what is good at one time may not be so at another; and what is well at one place may not be so at another. The essence of Christianity is fixed and unalterable, but the forms in which it is expressed may change; and hence its wonderful flexibility and adaptability to all nations and ages. One form might do for the Jews, and one form is sufficient for heaven; but many are required for the world.

Three mistakes appear to be made by some Christians. The first is when they place human appointments on the level of God's law, and claim for them a like sanction; the second is when they regard a certain system of Church organization, discipline, or ritual as either binding upon all the world or fitted for it; the third is when they suppose any such organization, discipline, or ritual fitted for all ages. To these most grave and serious errors a great part of the weaknesses and woes of the Church may be ascribed. It is perhaps necessary to say that it is a grievous mistake for any one ecclesiastical organization to unchurch all others, and to pronounce itself the only true Church of God on earth. This is pride as well as folly. Nor is such reasoning inapplicable to doctrinal systems.

All doctrinal systems, as such, are the products of human wisdom and skill. God has no more given us a system of theology than He has of botany, astronomy, geology, or zoology. He has sown the earth with flowers, scattered the stars in space, created the earth under our feet, and peopled it with life. This He has done. He has given us the facts, and motives, and means for reducing them to harmony; but He has given us no system. The same is true in theology, where the facts—that is, the truths with which it is concerned—are in a manner sown broadcast over the sacred page; and he that would have a



system of theology must work it out for himself, or others for him. One consequence is, that as systems of botany, etc., are all provisional, all liable to change and correction, so are theological systems mutable, and imperfect, and many. It follows, also, that the patrons of no particular system of theology have a right to exceed the limits of human modesty by proclaiming all others false, and their own infallibly true, and alone to be tolerated. The different systems of any science agree on certain fundamental principles, and usually on many details. And this is true of systems of theology. All we have to demand is a fair and honest acceptance of plain and positive facts. God is our ultimate Judge; and if we accept His truth, it will be well with us. He has not given us a system of theology, nor has He appointed anybody else to give us one; and therefore it is wrong for any to claim a divine sanction for that which they devise or accept. Nevertheless, theological systems have their uses, like Church organizations and forms, but only so far as they promote the end for which Jesus Christ came into the world—the salvation of men. Souls are so precious that everything that can be done to save them should be done; but there is no reason for hindering them when seeking for salvation. Yet they are hindered when the terms of salvation laid down in Scripture are added to, diminished from, or in any way disguised. “What man is there of you who, if his son ask bread, will give him a serpent? Or, if he ask a fish, will give him a stone?”

But, in truth, some have acted very much in this way. They have so mixed up the pure grain of God's truth with the chaff of their own inventions, that they have fed the hungry with what hurt them as much as it fed them. A remarkable example of this, in the form of a book, is to be found in the Italian edition of the *Glories of Mary*, the author of which, Alfonso de' Liguori, has been canonized as a saint. On the very first page we find this extract from the writings of some fanatic of the middle ages: “Domina rerum, Sancta Sanctorum, virtus nostra et refugium, Deus mundi, Gloria cœli, agnosce te diligentes; audi nos, nam te Filius nihil negans honorat.” No translation can do full justice to the passage

thus quoted ; but it is very plain that its direct tendency is to mislead souls from Christ. Among a host of other instances supplied by the same book, one other may be specified. The first section of the eighth chapter of the first part is headed, "Mary delivers her devotees from hell;" and this is proved to be really the meaning, because a fable is brought in to shew that she actually delivered from hell a soul that was already there. This is what we call giving a serpent for a fish, and a stone for bread. It goes far beyond the fiction of Dean Swift, in his *Tale of a Tub*, where Peter gives his brothers a crust, and protests that it is a slice of mutton. It not only exceeds the liberty which Christians have; it is a violation of that liberty, and blasphemy against God. But what must be the condition of a Church which tolerates such outrages, encourages them, and canonizes the perpetrators of them in the nineteenth century! Such a Church is separated from other Churches by so broad and deep a gulf that it must surely be the only Church or no Church at all. If its claim to be a Church is allowed, it can be but on the principle that the foundation of God's truth is able to bear any quantity of error and folly that man heap upon it. And, indeed, for aught we know, this may be the case: the great Judge may consider the smallest amount of truth sufficient to save a man from hell, and the weakest faith enough to secure him salvation; but if it be so, it is no reason why we should be content with the mere shadows of truth and faith and holiness, and afraid to denounce them that diabolically administer stones for bread and serpents for fish.

There is one rule suggested by Scripture, and accepted by common sense, and it is that we keep as near as we can to God's Book. But even this rule is not always easy of application, because some men do not interpret it on common-sense principles. Here is Cardinal Bellarmine, the representative of a host, saying that Scripture has a fourfold sense—literal, allegorical, anagogical, and tropological. If this be the law of interpretation, no wonder that so much rubbish is paraded as the teaching of Scripture. At this rate anybody may make anything he likes of any text he pleases. We believe it was

only by the adoption of this canon that the famous decision of December, 1854, was justified from Scripture. A not much better scheme has flooded us with Swedenborgian vagaries; and it is not too much to say that the popular teaching of divinity among us is often as bad for the same reason.

But our immediate question concerns the interpretation of Scripture in reference to rites and ceremonies. The sudden affluence of these things into the worship of our country compels us to look at the question, which divides itself into two or three: Are these observances and other matters commanded? are they simply permitted? or are they discouraged, and therefore in effect prohibited? To the first of these questions we are prepared with an answer; and it is exactly contrary to that which some others give. Is there then in the Scripture anything which can be fairly framed into a command or law to use these things? We say, No: others say, Yes. They tell us that one proof of this is found in Malachi i. 11, "From the rising of the sun even unto the going down of the same my name shall be great among the Gentiles; and in every place *incense* shall be offered unto my name, and a *pure offering*; for my name shall be great among the heathen, saith the Lord of Hosts." They tell us that in the same connection the words "altar" and "table" are interchanged. By combining these statements they infer an altar, a sacrifice, and incense in the Church; and having inferred these they easily proceed to infer priests properly so called, and with priests their appropriate vestments and a whole ceremonial ritual. But it is easy to see how far-fetched all this is, and how unsound the foundation upon which it rests. Malachi is condemning the corrupt practices of Jewish priests who, among other irregularities offered *polluted* bread upon God's altar, and imperfect sacrifices. And he goes on to predict a change so great that the very Gentiles will become the true worshippers of God. Then, says God, "in every place incense shall be offered unto my name, and a *pure offering*." Our Lord's words to the woman of Samaria supply the true explanation of this (John iv. 21—24); and St. Paul furnishes us with an apt commentary upon it (1 Tim. 2, 8). Incense was only a symbol, and in the New Testament the symbol is ex-

plained to point to prayer and other acceptable service offered to God; nor does the New Testament mention any other incense as offered by Christians. In accordance with this all the ante-Nicene fathers who refer to incense use the term in a figurative sense. There is not one genuine passage which points to its literal use; but there are a number which declare that it was not used. Roman Catholic writers even admit this. Thus: "During the three first centuries we do not perceive by any certain testimony that Christians used incense in their churches."<sup>b</sup> True, we often read that Hippolytus is an authority for the use of incense. His name is usually given without any reference to the passage; but after considerable search we find that it occurs in the book *De Consummatione Mundi*, sec. 34. There the word occurs; and if the book was genuine it would be a remarkable fact, for Hippolytus would affirm the use of that which so many others before and after him deny. But the book is spurious, and beyond all question the production of a later age. Therefore we cannot find one ante-Nicene writer who knew anything of the supposed law in relation to incense. And when Bishop Hopkins says, "Incense is mentioned by Hippolytus in the second century," he shews himself as ignorant of chronology as of Christian literature. It is no reason whatever to say, "I can see no reason why the Church of the Gentiles should not have followed the divine law of the Mosaic system in the use of incense. Two most serious consequences follow from the principles of those who find laws for Christian ceremonies in Jewish institutions and prophecies. A great part of the law ceases to be a shadow of good things to come; and the Church has to base its practices upon the slender and uncertain ground of figurative language which is necessarily of a purely Jewish type. If we admit any part of the Mosaic ceremonial to be binding upon us, we shall be plunged into inextricable difficulties, partly to determine what is binding and what is not, and partly to explain away the remarkable declarations scattered over the New Testament. If we must have an altar and incense, why should we not be bound to copy the

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<sup>b</sup> *Dict. des Cerem. et des Rites Sacres.* Ed. Migne, 15, 1171.

Jewish altars and make ours like them? And, why not be required to have tables of shew-bread, and a hundred other things like those of the Jews? Why should not our priests be arrayed as theirs were? And so on. There is no end to the questions which might justly be asked: for law is law, and that in its details as well as in its ultimate intention. One line only can be drawn between Judaism and Christianity, and that is to shut out from the latter the whole of the former in ceremonial matters. Let the law be law, and the Gospel be Gospel: let Jews become Christians, but let not Christians become Jews. The Judaizing of Christianity was a plague and a trouble to the Apostles and early churches; and when at last it succeeded in winning the suffrages of the majority, the Church stretched out its hands to not a few pagan practices, and lost for ages its spiritual power and purity.

Constantine, a half-converted pagan, took the patronage of the Church into his hands, and clothed it in purple and fine linen, and made it fashionable. And from that hour it began to read the Bible with different eyes, and to covet all the outward worldly pomp and splendour which it eventually attained. The multiplication of external symbols went on for perhaps a thousand years, and side by side, went on the corruption of doctrine and the loss of celestial beauty and life. It is no marvel that Mohammed almost destroyed and quite subdued it in the east. He would have done the same in the west if his legions had conquered, for the glory of the Church lay mainly in rites and ceremonies and external things.

Returning for a moment to Mal. i. 11, it should be observed that while Romish and Protestant Ritualists both rely on it, they do so with a singular difference. The Romanist finds his "sacrifice" where the other finds his "incense." The Douay Bible, following Jerome, has in Challoner's revision, "and in every place there is *sacrifice*, and there is offered to my name a clean oblation." This is supposed to limit the meaning to the Eucharist; and to justify the belief that it is really a sacrifice. But the interpretation is false; for the Hebrew does not mention "sacrifice" at all in the strict sense of the word, but only the *minchah* or ordinary meat-offering. Hence it is apparent

that Jerome, who knew something of Hebrew, could not possibly have taken it to mean either literal incense, or a literal sacrifice in the mass.

Now if prophecy and the Jewish law furnish no law of ceremonial to the Church, still less can we find our law in the record of certain visions. One of these visions is Isa. vi. 1—3, another is Ezekiel x., and a third Rev. iv.; v. 6—14; vii. 9—12, 15. Let the reader turn to these passages, and he will find they are records of visions, as we have said. He will wonder to be told that they are seriously viewed as representations of the literal worship of heaven, and taken as supplying rules and patterns for worship on earth. He will rightly wonder that full grown men, of intelligence and learning, can soberly entertain any such ideas. Nevertheless this is the fact. But it is a fact of the most portentous kind, for it demonstrates that all reasonable principles of criticism and interpretation have been discarded for a dreamy mysticism. These visions the ceremonial law of Christ's church on earth! If the folly of such a proposition is not apparent at once, no argument will be of the slightest use. The men who fly to visions as the justification and the law of their form of worship, will by common minds be regarded as visionaries. Such a mode of expounding the texts in question, as we now hear of, tends to an abuse of the Bible which we can only call monstrous. If this be allowed, anybody can prove anything out of the Bible, and it ceases to have any real meaning at all.

It is a fact of no small significance that, however exalted, eminent, or honourable, individual Ritualists among us may be, many of them do not appear to have the least consciousness of the laws of literary criticism. Writing far too much in the spirit of partisans, who must plead a cause which they have already judged, they catch at verbal resemblances, and formal analogies, and adduce these as irrefragable proof. The mistake is not of modern origin. Readers of Cyprian, and what passes under his name, will recollect that he fell into this sort of malady. In one of his letters he finds in the Old Testament a number of passages which, to his mind, prefigure the Eucharist. He then discovers a like series of prefigurations of baptism,

and says in reference to his principle of interpretation, "Nec argumentis plurimis opus est frater charissime, ut probemus appellatione aquæ baptismi significatum semper esse, et sic nos intelligere debere, cum Dominus adveniens baptismi et calicis manifestaverit veritatem," etc. But surely it would now be justly said that the truth is exactly the contrary, and that many arguments are necessary to prove that baptism is always signified when water is mentioned in the Scripture, and that we ought not so to understand. This may be a short and easy method of typological exposition, but it is a very unscientific one.

Equally incapable of defence is the language used by some of our Ritualists. The original preface to the *Directorium Anglicanum*, after saying among other things that in the earliest ages of Christianity the Eucharist was the *only* distinctive Christian worship, proceeds in this way: "To these considerations it may be added that there is one book of Holy Scripture—the Apocalypse—which reveals to us the ritual of heaven. That ritual is the normal form of the worship of the Christian Church. The full scope and burden of the Epistle to the Hebrews is this, that the law was a shadow of good things to come, and not the very image of the things; that in the law we have but a copy (*ὑπόδειγμα*), but that in the Gospel we have the object itself as in a mirror, the very image (*αὐτὴ ἡ εἰκὼν*), the express image or stamp. The Jewish ritual was therefore a type or shadow of the ritual of heaven, which would be hereafter; not as then existing, at least in the form it was to assume in the fulness of time. If the Jewish ritual had been a copy or pattern of things existing in heaven at that time, it would have been an image thereof, not a shadow or type. But 'coming events cast their shadows before,' and it is written with reverence, the worship of heaven, always objective, became amplified, and, so to speak, *ocularly objective* (as God could be seen of man) when the hypostatic union took place; when bone of our bone, flesh of our flesh, was worshipped by the angelic host in the session of the incarnate Word, in his glorified humanity, at the right hand of God the Father Almighty. Moses was admonished when he was about to make the taber-

nacle; 'For see, saith he, that thou make all things according to the pattern shewed to thee in the mount.' The Jewish ritual was the shadow cast upon earth from the throne of God of the worship which was to be in heaven after the Incarnation and Ascension of the God-man, our Lord Jesus Christ, who pleads before the throne his sacrifice, at once the victim, the 'Lamb as it had been slain,' and High Priest. The ritual of heaven is objective, and the principal worship of the Church on earth is equally so, by reason of its being identical with the normal and Apocalyptic ritual, and thus containing a great action, even the perpetuation of the sacrifice made on the cross, in an unbloody manner on the altar. Not that this great action, the most marvellous condescension of the Creator to the creature since the sacrifice, never to be repeated, was once offered on Calvary, excludes common prayer; not so, the prayers of the faithful form an appendage to the holy sacrifice of the altar. The Church in heaven and on earth is indeed one, and the Holy Eucharist<sup>c</sup> as a sacrifice is all one with the memorial made by our High Priest himself in the very sanctuary of heaven, where he is both priest after the order of Melchizedek, and offering, by the perpetual presentation of his body and blood; therefore the ritual of heaven and earth must be one,—one, that is, in intention and signification, though under different conditions as to its expression."

All the leading assertions in this extract are open to the most grave objections. There is not the shadow of a reason for saying that St. John reveals to us the "ritual of heaven;" and that the Jewish ritual was a type or shadow of the ritual of heaven. Neither is there any ground for saying that the ritual of earth is to be assimilated either to the Mosaic ritual or the imaginary ritual of heaven. All these things are without a scientific and rational basis, and consequently, all the inferences from them are mistaken. If they are the foundation of Ritualism, its whole superstructure is the "baseless fabric of a vision."

A note to the *Directorium*, p. 4, says, "The table on which the Eucharistic sacrifice is offered has been called an altar

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<sup>c</sup> See Keble on *Eucharistical Adoration*, p. 72.



"from the beginning." The prophet Malachi (i. 7, 12) speaking in prophecy of the Eucharistic sacrifice terms "the table of the Lord," in reference to it, an "altar." St. Paul tells the Hebrews (xiii. 10) that "we have an altar, whereof they have no right to eat which serve the tabernacle." Now Malachi, in the passages cited, is not speaking prophetically at all; still less is he speaking of the Eucharistic sacrifice. In chap. i. 7 he thus accuses the Jews of his own time, "Ye offer polluted bread upon mine altar: and ye say, Wherein have we polluted thee? In that ye say, The table of the Lord is contemptible." It is as clear as noonday that this is not a prediction, but an accusation; and that the reference is peculiarly to the table of shew-bread. In the second passage the prophet charges them with profaning God's name: "But ye have profaned it, in that ye say, The table of the Lord is polluted; and the fruit thereof, even his meat, is contemptible" (i. 12). Nothing can be plainer, and the only thing to wonder at is the obliquity of vision which sees in this a predictive allusion to any table or altar in the church of Christ. The third text, from Heb. xiii. 10, is equally misunderstood. The apostle is tracing a certain analogy between the Jewish sacrifices and that of Christ; at the same time pointing out differences. He writes as a Jew to Jews, and he says of his nation as a whole, "We have an altar of which they have no right to eat who serve the tabernacle; because the bodies of those beasts whose blood is brought into the sanctuary by the high priest for sin, are burned without the camp. Wherefore Jesus also, that he might sanctify the people with his own blood, suffered without the gate. Let us therefore go forth unto him without the camp, bearing his reproach." The Jewish clergy might not eat of certain victims because they were to be burned. The temple services were not yet abolished, and therefore he speaks in the present tense. It is utterly impossible to trace the logical connection of the passage, except we regard verses 10 and 11 as an illustration from Jewish customs of the principles involved in verses 12 and 13. There is not the most distant allusion to the Eucharist, or to any Christian altar in verses 10 and 11, but the facts adduced distinctly prove that the writer regarded our Lord's death as a

sacrifice. To suppose it means "we Christians have an altar of which the Jewish clergy have no right to eat," is rationally impossible, if the following words have any sense at all; because they *give the reason* why the Jewish ministers must not eat of the altar mentioned. The holy apostles did not write nonsense: but the exposition advanced in the *Directorium* would make them do so. Not much better is the attempt in the next sentence of the afore-cited note to justify the term altar of the Christian Lord's table: "It is to be observed that the same apostle calls the Christian, Jewish, and Gentile altars, tables; thus defining an altar to be a table whereon a sacrifice was offered" (1 Cor. x. 18—21; ix. 13).

Let us look at these assertions. "The apostle calls Christian altars tables." Does he? This is begging the whole question, for it has to be first proved that Christians, at that time, had altars. They had tables we know, because the Scripture says so, but that they had altar-tables, or altars, is not recorded. What the Ritualist wants to help him is a passage in which the Christian table is called an altar, but no such passage is in existence. The text, 1 Cor. x. 18—21, admirably distinguishes between altar and table, and shews that the altar was Jewish, and the table Christian. In ver. 18, St. Paul supplies a beautiful exposition of his meaning in Heb. xiii. 10: "Behold Israel after the flesh; are not they which eat of the sacrifices partakers of the altar?" This shews that of some sacrifices they did eat; and the other shews that of some sacrifices they did not eat. After mentioning Gentile sacrifices the writer continues: "Ye cannot drink the cup of the Lord and the cup of devils; ye cannot be partaker of the Lord's table, and of the table of devils." Observe, he says, not "the Lord's altar," but "the Lord's table." There is therefore all the proof we require that the cup and the bread were not taken from an altar but from a table.

But we are told "He calls the Jewish altars, tables." The short answer to this is a simple negative. Nothing of the kind appears in the texts appealed to, nor in any others we can discover.

The third assertion is that "He calls Gentile altars, tables."

This also is not admitted. Victims which had been offered to idols were sold in the shambles, and Christians who purchased and ate of them seemed to favour idolatry. Now the apostle shews that they were not quietly and knowingly to do this. If they did this they partook of the table of devils. That the word "table," in 1 Cor. x. 21, does not mean an altar at all is demonstrated by the simple fact that no Pagan altar bore the remotest resemblance to a table. The altars of the Greeks were even more unlike tables than the altar of the Jews; and that is saying a good deal. So utterly unlike tables were all these altars, that "table," as a metonymy for "altar," would not have been understood. If "altar" is used in reference to a sacrifice, it has a specific allusion to the sacrificial act; but if "table" is used in reference to a sacrifice, it has a specific allusion to the eating of the victim at home or wherever it might be.

Therefore it is not true that St. Paul uses the words "altar" and "table" interchangeably. Probably no such interchange of the words occurs in either sacred or classical Greek until the third century after Christ. The *Directorium*, however, copying from the Romish writer, Dr. Rock, says "In the first century we find St. Ignatius (ad Phil.) assert that 'In every Church there is one altar.' In the second century S. Justin Martyr alludes to the passage in which the Prophet Malachi calls the table of the Lord an altar (Dial. cum Trypho.) And Origen and St. Cyprian perpetually refer to the altar of the Christian Church (Orig. Hom. iii. St. Cyp. Epis. passim)."

These statements are taken without acknowledgment from Rock's *Hierurgia*, vol. ii. 710—714. The borrower has not even taken the pains to verify the references, or to correct the translations. Is this worthy, dignified, and scholarlike? Is it not rather much to be blamed? The passage ascribed to Ignatius is a notorious falsification occurring in the most corrupt of all the texts of the Epistle to the Philadelphians. Not only so; both Dr. Rock and the editor of the *Directorium* have propounded a false translation: "In every church there is one altar." The Greek is ἐν θυσιαστήριον πάσῃ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, which every tyro knows means "one altar to all

the Church," or "one altar to the whole Church." The simplicity of gentlemen who can quote and translate forgeries in this style is charming. Ignatius, an authority for an altar in every church, and in the *first* century too! The good man knew nothing of material churches any more than of the many material altars now to be found in some of them.

The passage from Justin is imperfectly referred to, like that from Pseudo-Ignatius, and it is erroneously quoted; and, besides, contains not even the least allusion to either altar or table. Our assertions can be verified by any one who will refer to the Dialogue with Trypho, sec. 116, 117.

That Origen perpetually refers to the altar of the Christian Church is also not true, if a material altar is meant. The allusion "Hom. iii." in support of the assertion is absurd, because it is only one reference, and because it is unintelligible. Is it Hom. iii. upon Genesis, Hom. iii. upon Exodus, Hom. iii. upon Leviticus, or what? We have sought, but in vain, to discover any place in Origen which predicates a material altar in the Church of Christ. We can readily find passages, however, in which, as in his books against Celsus, he says Christians had nothing of the kind. And his assertion is supported by that of several other authors of the ante-Nicene period. Tertullian is thought to use the word altar of the Lord's table, and Cyprian is the next; both Africans, and both failing to represent the Catholic Church. What they say indicates certain local tendencies, but it stands pretty well alone until we come to the post-Nicene period, when Constantine decked the Church and its ministers in ornaments which it was but too willing to wear. Excepting the solitary allusions of Tertullian and Cyprian, which are not all taken for granted, the whole Church of Christ refrains from saying it has literal altars until the fourth century, and then, if we mistake not, about the first example is the work of the half-heathen Constantine.

Those who do not believe ecclesiastical Ritualism to be any natural product of the Gospel, and certainly no part of it, wonder at the perseverance which clings to the idea that it is manifest in the Church of the second and third centuries, is deducible from various expressions in the New Testament,

and was foreshadowed and predicted in the Old Testament. With every desire to learn and follow the truth, these evidences elude their grasp. Hence the negation of one party is as firm as the assertion of the other. The Rev. P. J. Medd, in his essay on the Eucharistic Sacrifice (*Church and the World*, p. 332, first edition), says that the terms "altar," and "Lord's table," are "two phrases which, in Scriptural language, are simply, it need not be said, synonymous, two names, that is, for the same thing, regarded now in this, now in that point of view." Before quoting the note upon this affirmation, we beg to say that the terms are not synonymous in Scripture, and that the Lord's table of the Church of Christ is never once called an altar in the New Testament. We have already shewn that no altar is called a table in the same book. Now for Mr. Medd's note: "Compare four very noticeable passages in Ezekiel, chap. xxxix. 17—20; xl. 38—43; xli. 22, 23; xliv. 15, 16, and two in the first chapter of Malachi; also St. Paul's argument in 1 Cor. x. 16—21, which absolutely requires a sacrificial sense for the expression 'Lord's table.'"

We have already spoken of 1 Cor. x. 16—21, and only add that we deny the conclusion of Mr. Medd, and that "Table of the Lord" there is a figure of speech for that which is eaten, just as "cup of the Lord" is a figure for that which is drunk. The passages in Malachi we have also disposed of, and merely remark further, that as the Jews had a table of shew-bread, and also partook of certain things which had been sacrificed, as well as had a literal altar, both altar and table are properly and necessarily specified and distinguished.

The passages of Ezekiel do not prove what they are cited to prove. Chapter xxxix. 17—20 contains neither of the words altar and table; but it does speak of eating things which have been sacrificed, in reference to practices, which all admit prevailed among both Jews and Pagans. The remaining passages all occur in the symbolical description of the new temple and city, and must be explained accordingly. Chap. xl. 38—43 unquestionably speaks of tables for slaying of sacrifices upon them. Here are eight tables of hewn stone a cubit high, a cubit and a half wide, and a cubit and a half long. They were

therefore solid blocks or slabs of stone, with a flat top, and as such might be called tables by a figure of speech. In chap. xli. 22, 23, the altar of wood, probably the altar of incense (Exod. xxx. 1), is called a table. In chap. xliv. 15, 16, we find two offices of the priests specified. Ver. 15 mentions sacrifice properly so called, and ver. 16, speaks of the "table" in reference to the incense altar so called in chap. xli. 22. All these things prove indeed that there may be circumstances in which an altar may be called a table, but only by accommodation; for though a real altar may be called a table, a real table is nowhere called an altar. This shews therefore that the terms are not really convertible. But even if it could be demonstrated, as it cannot, that Jewish altars of incense might be called tables, altars of incense are unknown to our Ritualists. And even if it could be demonstrated, as it cannot, that any Jewish altar of sacrifice that ever existed was called a table, we should be just where we were; because the Lord's Supper is never called a sacrifice in Scripture: absolutely never. To assume that because Ezekiel calls his symbolical altars tables, therefore we may call our real tables altars, is utterly fallacious. The Lord's Supper is described as the eating of bread and the drinking of wine, (or a cup) which is not a sacrificial act. The eating of that which has been offered in sacrifice, follows and is not identical with sacrificing. Do Christians eat of that which has been sacrificed? If they do, their table is a table and not an altar, because the altar is distinct and apart from the table. Do Christian ministers offer a real sacrifice? If they do, they have an altar of course. But where are they said to do this? Absolutely nowhere in the New Testament. Their sacrifice was offered on Calvary, and their supper is a symbol of the Victim, and a commemoration of its death. A real sacrifice involves the death of the victim, but Christ "dieth no more," and therefore cannot be sacrificed again. Figurative and spiritual sacrifices belong to quite another category, and are offered by all devout Christians, both laity and clergy, upon figurative and spiritual altars.

There is no doubt that he who offers a literal sacrifice at a literal altar is a priest; and if any one is literally a priest, he at

least is authorized to offer a real sacrifice at a real altar. But is the minister of Christ ever called a priest in the New Testament? The answer is still the same: absolutely never. With the most rigid precision this term is limited by our sacred writers to Jewish and Pagan priests. The only exception is in favour of Christ, who is appropriately termed a high priest. Now if the inspired writers always avoid calling our ministers priests, we are at least justified in saying that they are not such in a proper sense. St. Paul, or the author of the epistle to the Hebrews, is sometimes appealed to as favouring the application of the term priest to the Christian clergy, but no critical reader of that epistle would venture to say so for a single moment. Yet Mr. Medd presumes to say "The 'priest' is a priest, as St. Paul says, because he offers 'gifts and sacrifices.'" This is not a fair statement; the words are "every high priest is ordained to offer gifts and sacrifices" (Heb. viii. 3); the allusion being to the Jewish high priest as a type of Christ, and not to ordinary priests as types of our clergy.

The writer last quoted says, "Sacrifice does not necessarily imply in every case the offering of a living creature, which is sacrificed by the shedding of its blood." But this evades the point at issue. The real sacrifice of the Jew involved the death of the victim. The real sacrifice of Christ involved His death. Nobody denies that in the broadest sense of the word sacrifices are offered by Christians, and that in the same wide sense the Eucharist, or thanksgiving is a sacrifice. But if the Eucharist be a sacrifice only in this sense, the Ritualists use most inconsistent language in regard to it, and should end the controversy by explaining themselves at once. Mr. Medd continues: "For instance, the offering presented by Melchizedek, the 'priest of the most High God,' and the great type of our Lord's priesthood, in even a higher sense than Aaron and his sons, was not a bleeding victim, but 'bread and wine,' the very elements of the Eucharistic sacrifice." If Mr. Medd will be good enough to shew us where the bread and wine, which Melchizedek brought to Abraham, are called a sacrifice, he will render his cause essential service. The priest gave Abraham and his hungry followers bread and wine, but it is preposterous

to call such an act a sacrifice, even though that priest was a type of Christ.

If the Eucharist is not a propitiatory and expiatory sacrifice, it is not a sacrifice at all in the sense maintained by advanced Ritualists. If it is but a thank-offering, we have no further objection to make, and would only have it viewed as expressive of our thankful commemoration of the propitiatory sacrifice of the cross.

We may be told that our Lord's sacrifice was made in purpose and intention, "when Christ took the bread and brake it;" but we think it was made in purpose and intention long before that. The thing we want to see proved is that Christ offered a real sacrifice of atonement at the institution of the Supper. This, however, is impossible; and hence the solemn acts of that occasion were simply meant to teach us how we should commemorate the sacrifice after it was offered. That our Lord now continually repeats His sacrifice is by some asserted as a theological dictum; but others more wisely speak of its continual presentation; even this, however, is language without any real foundation in Scripture, and only misleads plain people. Yet mystical as this language is, it is constantly heard, and we are perpetually assured that Christian priests do on earth what Christ does in heaven. And to make the matter more wonderful, we are told that when certain words are uttered Christ is by a supernatural agency, by the power of the Holy Ghost, rendered really present in the bread and wine. Of this we have no proof; for the bread and wine make no sign. Spiritually, Jesus is present with all His true disciples; but the presence of His body and blood *really*, however supernaturally, He has nowhere promised. If He were, in some mysterious way, to infuse Himself into bread and wine, it would indeed be a tremendous miracle. But we cannot find any Scripture for this idea. His special and proper presence is tied not to times and places and material objects, but is vouchsafed to the souls of His servants wherever they may be. The entire system of the eucharistic sacrifice and real presence is a theory; and we mean to speak reverently when we say it is nothing more. As men we require external symbols to a certain extent; but when symbols are invested with attributes



little short of divine, we tremble for the consequences. In the present instance it took ages to elaborate the theory now propounded as a part of Christianity; and it cannot be traced to any truly Scriptural foundation. Of course we are told that "on grounds essentially rationalistic at bottom," we "doubt or disbelieve the reality of sacramental grace, or of Christ's especial presence in the Holy Eucharist." But this is an error; we believe that God gives His grace to waiting, loving souls in this sacrament, and that He is specially present with them then; but we do not believe that He is any more present in the Eucharistic elements of bread and wine than He is in any other of His creatures! He is received by faith and spiritually into the soul, with no interposition of a material vehicle. "This is my body which is given for you," conveys to our minds a glorious truth for which we can never be sufficiently grateful; and, "this do in remembrance of me," teaches us a law which it is our supreme pleasure to obey. The subsequent declaration, "This cup is the New Testament in my blood which is shed for you," reminds us of the reality of the Saviour's sacrifice, and the ratification of the covenant that is well-ordered in all things and sure. The expression will be the better understood by those who read the narrative in *Exod. xxiv. 3—8*.

We have insensibly wandered further than we intended; which was to enquire whether the Scripture lays down the *law* of Ritualism as expounded by its advocates. The conclusion to which we have come is that there is no such law; that Christians are not commanded to have either literal altar, literal priest, or literal sacrifice upon earth, and that it is no Christian duty to burn real incense. Our conclusion is in harmony with the voice of the truly primitive Church. When we say "primitive," we mean primitive, and not twelve or fourteen centuries as some seem to do who continually use the word at random. Among the facts which have pained us, few have pained us more than this,—the loose and unwarranted manner in which terms like "primitive," "apostolic," "the earliest churches," etc., are introduced by some writers. But this by the way.

If we have not gone into questions relating to vestments, candles, crossings, and other details of Ritualism, it is because

we do not believe any reasonably well-informed and sober-minded person, will pretend to find any law for their use in the Scriptures. We know that one and all of them have been defended as Scriptural; but it is simple matter of fact that they were long unknown to the churches, and the plea of Scripture authority is in our judgment ludicrous. Still, if it should seem necessary, we will hereafter investigate the arguments adduced in their defence as of Scriptural origin and obligation.

Our next question, as to whether Christianity *forbids* the practices and institutions we have been considering, need not detain us long. There is a law of liberty, and we have already affirmed it; but we must consider it briefly in its application to Ritualism.

If we look at the New Testament we discover very few forms, ceremonies, and external acts associated with Christian worship. So undeniable is this that according to some of the Ritualistic school, the Lord's Supper was the only distinctive act of Christian worship. The worship of the Church can hardly have been said to begin before the institution of the Supper; and its details are not complete till the Epistles are written. Now it is not of much importance to decide whether this or that observance is distinctive and peculiar to Christianity; but it seems that baptism and the Lord's Supper were very noticeable in connection with a profession of the Gospel. Besides these there were meetings where prayer, praise, reading the Scriptures, gifts for the poor, social repasts or *Agape*, and religious instruction were prominent. Then there was the kiss of peace or of love, etc. But these were not all acts of worship. They were partly worship, partly for edification, partly for mutual aid, and partly for the expression of Christian charity. It is apparent also that the disciples took counsel together as to the best means of extending the knowledge of the Gospel. But whatever the followers of Jesus met to do, or did, when they met, it is unquestioned that order and regularity characterized their meetings. It was absolutely necessary that forms of some kind were observed. It is very probable that these forms were the spontaneous offspring of circumstances, and were not the result of any definite rule or law. In baptism there was most

likely considerable uniformity, and also in the observance of the Lord's Supper. The ordinary religious exercises for worship and edification would also tend to follow a certain plan. Form and ceremony could not be wholly forbidden; but it seems impossible that there should have been anything elaborate and ornate, for we discover no trace of this. The scattered hints found in the Acts and Epistles point to the most marked simplicity. There is no trace of consecrated places and utensils, nor of any special time for worship except the Lord's day. The conformity to Jewish customs in certain cases is fairly assignable to the not yet complete separation of the Church from the Synagogue. There are no indications of special vestments for the clergy, and none of prescribed forms of prayer. In a word there is no Ritualism in the modern sense of the term. All efforts to discover it have been foiled and must necessarily fail.

But the absence of Ritualism does not prove it to have been altogether forbidden under altered circumstances. There is no good reason for saying that forms of prayer are prohibited, because the Lord's Prayer points in that direction. It may be that standing and kneeling are not the only postures allowable. The clergy may not be forbidden to call themselves by names not found in the New Testament; provided those names do not lead to a misconception of the nature of their office. The clergy may assume particular insignia to distinguish them from others. Without specifying other matters, it really appears that ritual is not wholly prohibited. But we doubt whether it is permissible on Scripture grounds, to adopt an elaborate symbolical ceremonial, which it is costly and difficult to carry out, and which either misleads the people or is unintelligible. The dangers arising from such a ceremonial are such that we should seriously reflect before we recommend it. It separates the clergy too widely from the laity, and fosters ideas of spiritual importance and dignity which lay the clergy open to great temptations. It seeks to attain the ends of worship and teaching by cumbrous and circuitous procedures, and favours the tendency to attach undue weight and merit to mere external acts and symbols. It is not generally favourable to spirituality. It lays a burdensome tax upon clergy and people, and so hinders

as much as it helps, if not more. Now the only legitimate end of Ritualism is to promote edification and devout worship. But we find that the more elaborate the ritual, the less the spiritual light and power becomes. Those who are most addicted to ceremonial and symbol are not the most holy. The reason is that the mind is distracted by the multitude of external acts and objects, and attention to them may naturally involve inattention to matters of unspeakably higher moment. It is not necessarily so with all, as we are glad to know, but it cannot be otherwise with most.

Other considerations might be advanced; but surely it is enough to observe these two facts:—the utter silence of Scripture recommending such an elaboration, and the grand character of Christianity developed in the apostolic churches without splendid array and a complex ritual system. Besides, our religion is a spiritual religion, and only needs as human means what appeals most directly to the understanding and the heart. The Lord Jesus Christ is the great pattern to be imitated, and He is the foundation of confidence towards God. The Holy Scriptures are the law of life and faith. The Holy Spirit is the power which works in the believer and fashions him for glory. Prayer is the utterance of the renewed heart, and praise the expression of gratitude and love. All this can be without symbol and ritual, though if symbol is required there are the broken bread and the poured out wine of the Lord's Supper, and the water of baptism: indeed, bread, and wine, and water, are the only symbolical objects commended to us in the New Testament for our adoption. Nor are any symbolical actions mentioned there except the breaking of the bread, the pouring out of the wine, the eating and drinking of these, and kneeling and standing during actual addresses to God. There seems to be no need for more; and therefore the many bowings, and crossings, and other changes of position and posture by which high Ritualism is characterized are at least unnecessary. If these are unnecessary, are they profitable? Every man must answer this for himself, but they would not profit us, and do not profit a great many who have no religion but that which consists of these things. There are some to whom they must

be a real injury, and it is therefore very doubtful whether those who like them should not renounce them out of consideration for others. "The kingdom of God cometh not with observation," and it is questionable whether it was meant to do so. The followers of the meek and lowly Jesus, and of His blessed Apostles who were counted as "the filth of the world and the offscouring of all things," seem to be inconsistent in adopting the all but oriental splendours of Ritualism. When Christ sent out the twelve, He sent them out destitute of all luxuries: "Be shod with sandals; and put not on two coats;" whereas our brethren who advocate the restoration of mediæval Ritualism require many ornaments and vestments, and a host of most costly appliances. A poor community would be ruined by the attempt to provide the articles set down in the model inventory printed in the *Directorium*. St. Paul was certainly encumbered with no such *impedimenta*.

Ritualism increases the difficulty as well as the cost of public worship, not only by multiplying ministers, but ceremonies, and rendering divine service intricate and perplexing. Clearly then it is not conducive to popular edification, and although it may be allowed to such as find it beneficial, or think they do, there are the most powerful reasons against its becoming a general rule or law. God assuredly can take no pleasure in all this elaborate artifice, because He requires service of quite another order. And even if He deigns to accept the motives which prompt such things, He might be more pleased if the feelings which prompt them, prompted labours and sacrifices of a different description. The feeding of the hungry and the clothing of the naked, and such like, are surely as appropriate applications of our earthly substance, as the providing of so much that cannot be essential to His right worship. We boldly say it cannot be essential because it is not commanded, is not exemplified in Apostolical practice, and is unknown in the first, best, and noblest centuries of the Christian Church.

The sum of the whole matter, so far as we can see, is this; that the supreme law of Christianity is that edification should never be lost sight of, and that our liberty consists in doing and devising that which is most directly conducive to edification;

that a few simple forms and ceremonies are all that were appointed by the Head of the Church, and all that were known in the Church for a long time after; that consequently a multiplication of forms, ceremonies, ornaments, and such like, can only be justified on the ground of expediency; finally, that the ceremonial institutions of Judaism are absolutely of no authority in the Church of Christ (*Art. VII. of the Church of England*).

Some points now omitted, and some examination of the alleged testimony of the early fathers in favour of Ritualism, will furnish materials for future examination.<sup>d</sup>

B. H. C.

<sup>d</sup> The following note may be inserted here as agreeing with what has been advanced on the subjects of it in the preceding article:—

SACRIFICES.—“*The Christian and Evangelical real Sacrifice*, which is Jesus Christ once offered for us, Eph. v. 2; Heb. x. 10, 12, 14; so as now there is no more offering for sin, ver. 18, but by His blood we may boldly enter into the most holiest, ver. 19. *Spiritual Sacrifice*, 2 Pet. ii. 5, which are performed of us only in thankfulness to God. Such be these: 1. The presenting of our bodies a living sacrifice, etc. (Rom. xii. 1). 2. The winning of souls by the ministry of the Gospel (Rom. xv. 16). 3. The teacher to shed his blood for that truth, which, through faith, others have received (Phil. ii. 17). 4. Pious relieving of God's painful ministers in their need (Phil. iv. 17). 5. A broken spirit, and a broken and contrite heart (Psalm li. 17). 6. Praise and thanksgiving (Heb. xiii. 15). 7. To do good and communicate (Heb. xiii. 16).” Bernard's *Thesaurus Biblicus*. London. 1644. The same writer, under the head “PRIEST,” has—“Spiritual, all true Christians in Christ (Exod. xix. 6; Rev. i. 6; v. 10; xx. 6). And again, he says, the word is put “For a sacrificing priest; such were the patriarchal and mosaical offering up beasts, abrogated by Christ, so as now there are no sacrificing priests, nor any by office a priest, but only Jesus Christ, the sole and only priest in the New Testament.” A reference to the article “ALTAR,” will shew that the same diligent searcher of Scripture could find no example of the word applied to the Lord's table.

### ON THE ETERNITY OF FUTURE PUNISHMENTS.

A CAREFUL review of Church History teaches this, as one useful lesson, that all the doctrines of the Christian faith are liable to doubts and questionings; which, after being set at rest for a time, reappear, as if new, after the lapse of some years or generations.

They thus may be to some minds apparently fresh perplexities, and require from time to time to be noticed and answered.

This is the case at present with one doctrine, that of the ETERNITY OF FUTURE PUNISHMENTS. It is therefore desirable to have collected, in a brief space, the arguments or proofs by which the general belief of the Church is established.

The chief doubts cast on this point would require us to think that the future punishment of the unbelieving will not be strictly everlasting, but will *at some unknown time*, and *in some unknown way*, come to an end, so that such a thing as being lost for ever need not be feared. Eternal punishment is said, by such doubters, to be so dreadful a thing even to think of, that they cannot believe it likely that God would condemn any of his creatures to such a fate. The greatness of God's mercy is pleaded as a ground for hoping that future punishments are not to last for ever, but may end.

Now a vague surmise or fancy that this may be the case will not satisfy any, except those whose "wish is father to the thought." Let us, therefore, follow out some of the main lines of proof, which have satisfied the calmest thinkers and profoundest intellects, of the truth of our Church's orthodox view, that the punishments of a future life must, like its rewards, be really endless or eternal. These various proofs are taken from the following sources:—

- I. The words of Holy Scripture.
- II. The value of our Lord's Atonement.
- III. The necessary condition of the lost.
- IV. The analogy of fallen angels.
- V. The analogy of human punishments.

VI. The necessities of Divine justice.

VII. The failure of other modes of deterring from sin, in certain cases.

I. Our thoughts must of course be first directed to Holy Scripture. For the question must be settled, not by what God *might have done*; not by what some may think *He should have done*; nor by what some may *wish Him to do*; but by what He has Himself declared *He will do*.

(a.) Now what He has said on this solemn point is to be found in such words as these: "Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels." "These shall go away into everlasting punishment." This punishment is, in various passages, described as "everlasting destruction;" "everlasting shame;" "eternal death;" "everlasting burnings;" "torment for ever and ever;" "eternal damnation." Many such passages occur in which it may be said, (both of the original languages, and of our English translation,) that *every expression is used which could have been used* to convey the impression that this future punishment would *never cease*. It is evidently meant to be feared and avoided as such.

(b.) No mention whatever is made of *any other* destiny beyond that one state, which would surely have been declared distinctly if God did intend any ultimate change beyond that revealed as everlasting punishment.

(c.) The very same terms are used in Scripture to describe the continuance of future happiness and misery; any doubts of the latter being without end must equally involve the former. If fear of endless punishment is to go, with it also goes any certainty of permanent happiness. All then becomes confusion; and it is evidently a suicidal action to doubt the permanent continuance of either state, cutting away the basis of peace as well as the ground of fear.

(d.) If God did not mean such a fearful thing as eternal punishment, He would doubtless have never used expressions calculated to make us think He did; for it would be utterly inconsistent with truth and honour to threaten more than He meant to perform.



(e.) Sound sense and scientific philosophy both enjoin the exercise of the greatest caution, before taking up any opinion on eternal matters. Short sighted and ignorant mortals should have most certain warrant from God's own Word, before forming a conclusion on a point of which we can know nothing certainly but what He reveals. It seems then to be a rash and ill-considered thing to propound a view of the eternal state hereafter, which not only has no certain warrant to support it, but also is in truth opposed to all the assertions, suggestions, or hints, which the Word of God contains. Sound and inductive philosophy must condemn such a method of reasoning, if reasoning it can be called.

II. Strong support to the orthodox view of our Church, on this point, is to be found in considering the *value of the Atonement made by our Lord for sin.*

When we weigh well all that is involved in His astonishing descent from the divine life and glory of the godhead; His lowly incarnation; His life-long weight of grief; His curse-bearing agony; His subjection to mortal pangs; His desolation of soul in the unutterable horror of his vicarial abandonment by the Father for a while on the cross; His passing through every stage of human life and death for the purpose of saving us from future punishment; it would seem impossible to suppose that anything less than the danger to us of eternal punishment, as due to sin, could have necessitated so extraordinary a sacrifice.

Can we think that this wondrous substitution of the Creator for the creature, of the Holy One for unholy mortals, would have been proposed, or allowed, or carried out by the Son of God; if it was to save us from only a passing and short punishment? for short indeed would any length of time seem if not eternal, when compared with a really endless state. Can we calmly conceive it likely that God would "give up His Son;" or that Son be willing to undertake the bearing of Divine wrath instead of sinful men, if that wrath brought with it no settled curse or final banishment from heaven?

If there were to be at any rate an ultimate deliverance for all souls from any punishment, where was the need of so astonishing an atonement as that worked out by our Saviour? No!

the priceless value paid for our redemption shews that the danger was one which could not be over-estimated. All the circumstances of that divine plan so long prepared; so slowly developed; so carefully conducted; so minutely elaborated; so perfectly finished; and so earnestly pressed on our acceptance; all point to the danger of an eternal ruin, as the only sufficient explanation of these wonders. God was working for eternity, and our eternity depends on that work.

III. Another line of proof is drawn from the *necessary condition* of lost souls.

(a.) First, as regards their *moral* condition. Having died in sin, and inclined to sin, they will always continue IN A STATE OF SIN. The sentence decreed is this, "He that is unjust let him be unjust still, and he that is filthy let him be filthy still," so that the unrighteous principles, unholy desires, or godless propensities, that have possession of the soul dying impenitent and unchanged, are to remain still in possession of it after the final judgment. Such a soul being therefore always in a state of sin, will be also, for that reason, always in a state deserving of punishment. Fresh guilt, ever requiring fresh condemnation, will perpetually accumulate. Punishment therefore becomes the necessary consequence of their moral state.

(b.) The condition of the lost, as *finally condemned*, makes their punishment simply punitive, not remediative.

In this life God sends punishment for beneficial ends as a warning from sin, or as a recall to duty, or as a means of spiritual discipline. Punishment here is therefore a merciful chastisement, in order that we may escape future punishment and final condemnation. But when, after this life is over, final judgment comes to be pronounced, its punishment is sternly judicial and punitive, without any hope of a beneficial tendency; for in the mingled disorders of a condemned association of fallen angels and lost human souls, there would be no objects or duties existing on which any effort or exertion could be made, for the producing of a better state of heart towards God. With no social interests to be preserved, no duties enjoined, no high or holy purposes to be carried out, punishment would have no beneficial effects to follow, but be the simple infliction of what

justice required. Such punishment, without hope, does not seem capable of doing anything but sadden and harden perpetually.

(c.) Hence also it follows that this sinful state, being one incapable of improvement, makes their condition one which *disqualifies* them for the region of God's presence and glory. For "without holiness no man can see the Lord." Before a soul can be fit for the "inheritance of the saints" there is needed a habit of holiness, a capacity for appreciating the delights of a pure life of loving obedience, with a desire above all things for God's presence as the crowning hope in the "hope of glory."

But how can such a happy change be effected on a lost soul? The various means which exist in this life for amendment are then all gone; no Holy Spirit will visit that region of woe, no word of God afford its teachings or comforts, no hallowed hours of worship or religious ordinances be there to impress, or solemnize, or sanctify. Since substitutes for these means of improvement are not promised, nor, indeed, seem possible in hell, there seems no hope of any reformation being produced, in a soul once there, which could fit it at any time for a change to the better life in God's heavenly kingdom.

(d.) Indeed it may further be said, that even if actual admission into heaven were allowed to an unreformed soul, the mere presence there would not avail for giving happiness, so long as there was an unchanged disposition towards God. Heaven's occupations would be distasteful and irksome; the sight of other's happiness, without joining in it, would give only pain; the awful presence of the Holy One would confound and terrify. Unloved and unloving, isolated and shunned, how desolate would such a soul be in the very regions of eternal joy. It would carry hell with it into heaven. The only position, therefore, which the lost can be imagined to occupy fittingly, is that to which they are at first condemned.

IV. The next line of proof lies in the analogy existing between the future state of lost souls and *that of the fallen angels*. Already the case has occurred of immortal spirits being condemned for sin to perpetual banishment from God's favour and presence. For them no Redeemer has been pro-

vided. Our Saviour, as St. Paul says, did not "take hold of the nature of angels" to redeem them; so it is plain, beyond doubt, that the state of "the devil and his angels" is one of hopeless ruin, combined with utter wickedness. The form of sin they were guilty of, and the reasons why no Redeemer has been offered them, do not concern our present subject; but the way they have been punished does most materially. In their case is already produced *that very state*, which is questioned by those who doubt whether eternal punishment is within the Creator's intentions for any of his creatures. What has thus once been decreed for fallen spirits among angels may, by clearest analogy, be considered as the probable doom of fallen spirits among men.

(b.) But, further, it is distinctly stated that souls, banished from God at the day of judgment, are expressly sent to the very place prepared for the devil and his angels; and if to the place, then evidently also, to share in every way their whole condition. The duration of punishment will in that place be thus the same for all there—that is, without any end or limit.

(c.) Indeed it may be considered with good reason to be probable that, if either of these two classes were to have the prospect given of some ultimate deliverance, it would not be the lost souls of men, but the once angelic natures. For men, by rejecting on earth the merciful offer of a Saviour's help to deliver them from the wrath to come, have increased beyond conception their sinfulness. Other sins are but small when compared with not believing in Christ, as able and willing to save. This offer the devils have never had, so the sin of rejecting Him has not in their case been committed. It would seem, that if mercy were to be extended at any time to those in future punishment, it would rather be exercised on behalf of these eldest sons of God's heavenly family. There being, however, no mention whatever that such hope of mercy is ever to be given them, how doubly dark becomes the prospect for the still more guilty human spirits that share their place and lot!

V. We may take another course for thought from the *principles of government*. In any settled ordering and oversight of a community it seems indispensable for the welfare of the better

portion, that there should be means of separating from it effectually the worse portion, if irreclaimable. When a government cannot in an amicable way bring all to a well-regulated conformity to law, such cases must be disposed of judicially, by exclusion from the rights and privileges of those who willingly conform to law and right.

This would seem to be the case even in the supreme government of God. He has arranged such an ultimate exclusion of the rebellious element. If his merciful endeavours, proposals, and entreaties do not avail for the reformation of the disobedient, then He must have recourse to some such last resource, for the separation completely of the corrupted portion of his creatures from the rest. If this separation were not at some time final or eternal, there would seem to be no end to the chronic state of rebellion if once begun. For if creatures could always rebel against their Creator, with the knowledge that any punishment He inflicted was only temporary, it is evident that a constantly-recurring state of rebellion would be liable to ensue, spreading a disturbed, disorganized state of mind perpetually throughout the universe.

Just as criminals do now often emerge from a short punishment, or even from a succession of punishments, only to plunge again into crime; so it would be in God's whole creation. To prevent this there must be some period at which overwhelming justice exercises its sway, in an unchanging condemnation of the rebellious to a separation complete and everlasting.

VI. The analogy of human government furnishes another argument.

(a.) The principle is there already established as just and necessary of *inflicting lasting punishments for crimes of short duration*. One offence, which took but a moment to commit, may bring upon the offender a penalty lasting for years, and, in some cases, as long as life on this earth continues. It is never allowed as a valid objection to this course of justice, that it is hard to visit short crimes with lengthened punishments. And yet this is the vague objection sometimes made to the doctrine of future punishment being eternal in duration. Just as banishment for life, *as man looks at it*, may be a righteous sentence

for a crime occupying but a moment to commit ; so banishment for all life, *as God looks at it*, may be the righteous sentence for crimes occupying that brief space of life which is spent here on earth.

(b.) It is also an established principle in our administration of justice, that a crime is *aggravated in guilt according to the dignity, rank, or authority of the person against whom it is committed*. Thus to strike an equal is an offence punished as assault ; to strike a commanding officer or a sovereign is punished with death. So that the greater the authority of the person sinned against, the more severely is the sin punished. Transfer this principle to the Divine Government, and it shews how, as the authority of God is infinitely great, a crime committed against Him becomes infinitely aggravated in guilt, deserving an infinite punishment. Unless the offence is atoned for in the way God himself requires, there remains for the offender the obligation to suffer an amount of punishment which, being infinite, can never be fully inflicted, and so is eternal.

VII. An argument of some importance may be added from the necessity of having some *sufficient mode of restraining sin, and deterring from crime*. So blind is the natural heart to the evil of sin, that it requires some awful revelation of its consequences to open our eyes to its real nature. Such an awful fact as eternal punishment awaiting unforgiven sin seems calculated to do this, as nothing else can ; but, alas ! even this does not always succeed. As the blessed thought of eternal joy does not always allure to virtue, so neither does the dread thought of eternal ruin always restrain from sin. How hopeless, then, it would seem to endeavour to check the sway of evil, were this most powerful of all warnings withdrawn. Calculated as it is to fill the mind with horror and revulsion from sin, there is no doubt that it does exercise on thousands of minds a most beneficial result for their eternal welfare. No other method does ever sufficiently arouse salutary fear. To "flee from the wrath to come" is an inducement addressed to one of the most powerful feelings planted in our nature. Many owe their participation in eternal joy to that dread of suffering eternal

wrath. It would no doubt be far better if all were drawn to God by love alone, and if his goodness were always a sufficient inducement to serve him. But as some minds are not moved by these gentler thoughts, it is an act of mercy to move them by the revelation of what a fathomless gulf of misery must be the necessary consequence of a downward course of unrepented sin. By this glimpse of the precipice of ruin on which they stand they are awakened to the anxious inquiry how they may be saved, and led to value the atonement provided by the mercy of God, through the loving sacrifice of the Saviour.

. Sufficient has now, we hope, been collected of the mass of proofs, by which the orthodox belief of our Church is supported, to establish the wavering and strengthen the weak faith, which may have been disturbed by vague apprehensions of some mistake on this point. May God grant that to each of us the solemn certainty of such a future for unforgiven sin may send us, with ever-increasing thankfulness, to the foot of the cross; as earnest suppliants for that free forgiveness which opens wide the gate of heaven, and brightens the future with hopes of indescribable enjoyments everlasting, as the life of God himself!

C. HOPE ROBERTSON.

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## THE TRIPARTITE NATURE OF MAN CONSIDERED IN RELATION TO EVANGELICAL DOCTRINES.

THE psychology of the Bible is radically different from that of the philosophers. But as there were of old many who confounded together Christian holiness and natural virtue, supposing that the one was a synonym for the other, or that the former merely differed in degree from the latter, so there are many, even now, who unconsciously follow the psychology of Plato instead of that of Scripture, to the sore detriment of theology itself. There are things, which though not separated by any sharply defined boundaries, need to be carefully distinguished from one another, as, for instance, the Church and the world; though we often see the Church sink to the level of the world, and sometimes behold the world apparently rise to the platform of the Church. We must similarly be on our guard lest we should identify heathen triads with the Christian Trinity, and lest we should confound together the philosophy of Plato and the revelations of St. Paul, to the detriment of both one and the other, though in a very different degree.

In considering, therefore, what Scripture reveals to us concerning the nature of man, when we discover that it teaches us that it consists of three parts, body, soul, and spirit, we must be on our guard not to jump at once to the conclusion that the doctrine taught in Scripture was the same as held by Plato. The agreement between the Platonic and the Scriptural trichotomy appears on a closer inspection to be more apparent than real; and the differences between them are of the highest importance. We shall not attempt to discuss this point in our present paper, but, warning our readers not to take appearances for realities, and referring them for some suggestive information on this head to the pages of Mr. Heard,<sup>a</sup> we pass on to discuss what is revealed in the Scripture.

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<sup>a</sup> *The Tripartite Nature of Man, Spirit, Soul, and Body, applied to illustrate and explain the Doctrines of Original Sin, the New Birth, the Disembodied State, and the Spiritual Body.* By Rev. J. B. Heard, M.A. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark. 1866.



The passages in which the threefold nature of man is distinctly alluded to in Scripture are few in number, though they are conclusive on the point. The first of them is 1 Thess. v. 23, "The very God of peace sanctify you wholly; and I pray God your whole spirit, and soul, and body, may be preserved blameless unto the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ." The Apostle prays here that the conversion of his converts might be complete, and might extend to all the parts of their nature and to all their faculties. Here then the spirit (*πνεῦμα*) is unmistakeably distinguished from the soul (*ψυχή*), with which it is so often loosely confounded, and the doctrine implied in the prayer is, that all the parts of man are to be sanctified to the Lord's glory. Sanctification is not to be partial, it is to be entire, and to extend to the whole man.

The next passage which may be adduced is Heb. iv. 12. It is well to consider it along with its context in verse 11 and verse 13, "Let us labour therefore to enter into that rest, lest any man fall after the same example of unbelief. For the word of God is quick and powerful, and sharper than any two-edged sword, piercing even to the dividing asunder of soul and spirit, and of the joints and marrow, and is a discerner of the thoughts and intents of the heart. Neither is there any creature that is not manifest in his sight, but all things are naked and open unto the eyes of him with whom we have to do." It is simpler to understand by "the word of God," the sword of the Spirit (Ephes. vi. 17), or Holy Scripture, than to suppose that the Lord Jesus is alluded to under that name. The sense of the whole appears to us to be, Let us labour to attain God's rest, and to thoroughly enter into it, namely, into the rest of the Gospel dispensation, lest we come short in comprehending our privileges and blessings, as the Jews did of old. For God's word is powerful, and cuts not only through the flesh, but through the bone, entering likewise into the marrow, or the innermost parts. It reaches even to the impulses of the soul, and the thoughts and intents of the heart. It condemns the iniquity which lies deep within, as well as that which manifests itself without. If we seek to attain Gospel peace, we must take cognizance of our thoughts, as well as of our actions,

and if we feel that we are not "sufficient for these things," we should draw near to the throne of our great High Priest, who is willing to impart to us grace to lead us into the way of righteousness and peace, and to keep us evermore in the same.

The passage draws a clear distinction between the soul and spirit, but we do not think its meaning is to shew that Scripture alone discovers the tripleness of man's nature, and thus evidences itself to be divine. Some of Mr. Heard's expressions would lead us to infer that this is the meaning which he assigns to the passage, yet it is possible that he only means to assert that Scripture by drawing the distinction between soul and spirit, assigning to the former the emotional and intellectual acts, and ascribing to the latter the function of spiritual-mindedness, reveals a philosophy which it had not entered into the heart of man to conceive.

Mr. Heard cites four other passages in which "the soul" is spoken of as the "characteristic faculty of unregenerate human nature," while the activity of the spirit is spoken of as "characteristic of the regenerate."

The first of these is 1 Cor. ii. 14, "The natural (soulish, *ψυχικός*) man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God, for they are foolishness to him; neither can he know them, because they are spiritually (*πνευματικῶς*) discerned." That is the man who is without grace, even though he be fully endowed with understanding, does not grasp the true realities of divine things, but he who has been regenerated by the Spirit not only comprehends but receives the things of the Spirit of God, though he may be ignorant of many other things which are of great value from an intellectual point of view.

The second is the passage in 1 Cor. xv. 45, where St. Paul asserts that "there is a natural (soulish, *ψυχικόν*) body, and there is a spiritual (*πνευματικόν*) body." There is a body whose centre is the soul (*ψυχή*), and there is a body whose centre is the spirit (*πνεῦμα*). The former is that which we inherit from the first Adam, and has become mortal on account of his sin; the other is the body we receive from the second Adam, and is immortal through his righteousness. Adam being only "a living soul" (*ψυχή ζῶσα*) could transmit no more to

his posterity; Christ being not only "a spirit," but a "life-giving spirit" (πνεῦμα ζωοποιούν), could impart to his "little children" the spirit which would ultimately spiritualize their bodies.

The remaining two passages are James iii. 15 and Jude xix. St. James tells us that the wisdom which shews itself in bitter envying and strife is "earthly, sensual (soulish, ψυχική), devilish." Pride which produces strife on earth, and contention even among believers, springs not from the operations of "the spirit," but from the inclinations of "the soul." These inclinations ought to be kept in check by the spirit, but, not being kept under by it, are often made use of by devilish agency to lure unwary ones away from the paths of peace, which the Lord Jesus has appointed for his people to walk in. St. Jude, too, speaking of the mockers who should come in the last time and walk after their own ungodly lusts, describes them as those who separate from the company of true believers, being "sensual (soulish, ψυχικοί), having not the spirit." By the "spirit" is here to be understood not the Holy Spirit, but the "spirit," which, while in the regenerate it is quickened by the agency of the Holy Ghost, remains in a "deadened" state in those who are not "born again."

"We gather," remarks Heard, "from this passage in St. Jude this decisive truth, that the spirit is that part which is dead in the unregenerate man. The commission of sin does not kill the psychical (soulish) nature; for, though there are certain brutal acts which refinement forbids, and which the intellectual man, as such, is incapable of, yet these are not the worst acts of sin. Refined sensuality, in which vice has only increased its malignity by losing all its grossness, so far from deadening the psychical (soulish) nature, rather awakens it to a higher activity. When Savonarola lifted up his voice against the demoralization of Florence, what were the objects of his attack, and against what did he stir up the citizens of Florence? It was art which had entered into a league with vice, so close and intimate that there was no reaching vice except over the prostrate body of art. The longing of the awakened spirit for purity took the form of Puritanism. The world, of course, sees

only the extravagance, and cannot see, for it knows and feels not, the need of inner and heart purity. But so it was, and so it will ever be. The psychical (soulish) nature is disgusted at some of the grosser forms of vice, and tries to keep up the appearance of virtue; but this is all. These indulgences do not repel it and deaden it as they do the pneumatical (spiritual) nature. They war against the psyche (soul) it is true, as St. Peter says (1 Pet. ii. 11), so that the end of these things is death, in the sense that they who sow to the flesh shall of the flesh reap corruption; but the directly deadening effect is felt in the *pneuma* (*spirit*), not in the *psyche* (*soul*). It is conceivable of a licentious scoffer having the psychical (soulish) nature in its highest perfection; it is not conceivable that he could exercise the *pneuma* (*spirit*)."

Phil. i. 27 might have also been cited by Mr. Heard, for soul (*ψυχή*) and spirit (*πνεῦμα*) are there also noted as distinct. The apostle exhorts the Christians at Philippi to "stand fast in one spirit, with one mind (*ψυχή*), striving together for the faith of the Gospel," or in other words, to strive with all their spiritual and intellectual powers.

Other passages might be easily brought forward which imply the tripartite nature of man. For instance, that which refers to our Lord, "Jesus increased in wisdom (the powers of the *ψυχή*) and stature (the growth of the *σῶμα* or *σάρξ*), and in favour with God and man (resulting from the growth of the *πνεῦμα* in God-consciousness and moral-consciousness)" (Luke ii. 52). The believers were after Pentecost "of one heart (*καρδία*, generally applied to the *ψυχή*, here, however, being in contrast to it, referring to the *πνεῦμα*) and of one soul (*ψυχή*)" (Acts iv. 32). So also Titus i. 15, where mention is made of those whose mind (*νοῦς*, the powers of the *ψυχή*) and conscience (*συνηθesis*, the remains in us of the *πνεῦμα*) are defiled.

Gen. ii. 7 may be quoted, as Mr. Heard has done, as a passage which implies, though it does not distinctly assert, this tripleness of man's nature. But the passages quoted are enough to shew that the New Testament, at least, reveals to us that man is a union of three natures, body, soul, and spirit. In other words, that man has sense-consciousness from the body,

self-consciousness and intellect from the soul, and God-consciousness (or as respects man, moral consciousness) from his spirit.

Although we by no means assert that the words spirit and soul are always strictly used in these different senses in the New Testament, yet it is worth noting that the one word is generally used when God-consciousness and moral conscience is alluded to, and the other when the intellect, or the feelings, are referred to.

Thus we read of the *πνεῦμα*, or "spirit," that it "is willing but the flesh weak" (Matt. xxvi. 41, etc.), of Mary's spirit rejoicing in God her Saviour (Luke i. 47), of Paul's spirit being stirred in him when he saw the city given to idolatry (Acts xvii. 16), of our Saviour's growing strong in spirit (Luke i. 80), of being fervent in the spirit (Acts xviii. 25; Rom. xii. 11), of serving God in the spirit (Rom. i. 9), of glorifying God in the spirit (1 Cor. vi. 20), of the spirit praying (1 Cor. xiv. 14), of Titus' spirit being refreshed by the work of God he saw among the Corinthians (2 Cor. vii. 13), of Paul's purposing in the spirit (Acts xix. 21), of his not having rest in his spirit (2 Cor. ii. 13), and of those according to the spirit being persecuted by those after the flesh (Gal. iv. 29). Holiness must belong both to the body and the spirit (1 Cor. vii. 34), for both may alike be polluted (2 Cor. vii. 1); the pollution of the latter resulting in a seared conscience. They are, however, naturally opposed to one another in their tendencies (Gal. v. 17). The spirit deadened by the Fall requires renewal (Rom. vii. 6), and the renewed spirit is the governing principle of the understanding (*νοῦς*), or of the powers of the soul (Eph. iv. 23). Hence those who are sensible of their natural state are called poor in spirit (Matt. v. 12), that is, persons who realize their spiritual poverty, and long for the aid of the Holy Spirit (the spirit of life from God, Rev. xi. 11) to quicken (John vi. 63) their dormant spirits into true life and energy.

No doubt spirit, or *πνεῦμα*, is used in the New Testament in various other senses, as for instance, to signify simply *life* (James ii. 26; Rev. xiii. 15), *power of mind*, etc., as well as in reference to the Holy Spirit and to other spiritual beings, but these passages which we have quoted seem to refer to it as the

nature in man which shews itself in God-consciousness and moral consciousness.

The adjective and adverb derived from spirit are often used with a like peculiarity of meaning. Thus we read of spiritual things (1 Cor. ii. 13; ix. 11) and spiritual persons (iii. 1) as opposed to carnal (*σαρκικός*), of those supported by spiritual food and drink (x. 3, 4), *i.e.*, food to keep alive their spiritual sensibilities, of spiritual gifts (xii.), of spiritual blessings (Eph. i. 3), of spiritual songs (v. 19), of spiritual discernment (1 Cor. ii. 14). Also, of spiritual wickedness (Eph. ii. 12), of those that are truly spiritual (Gal. vi. 1), and of those that imagine they are so (1 Cor. xiv. 37).

Soul (*ψυχή*) is on the other hand often, indeed chiefly used in a different signification, of that immaterial part of our nature in which the sense of self-consciousness and the powers of the understanding reside. Thus our Lord speaks of those who can kill the body but cannot kill the soul (Matt. x. 20), of giving rest unto the souls of those who come to him (xi. 29), of losing the soul (xvii. 26; Mark viii. 35, etc.), of serving God with all the soul (Matt. xxii. 37). Peter, referring to the Old Testament, speaks of Christ's soul not being left in Hades (Acts ii. 27, 31). Unbelieving Jews made the minds (souls, *ψυχάς*) of the Gentiles evil affected against the brethren (xiv. 2). Judaizers are said to subvert souls (xv. 24), while Paul and Barnabas confirmed the souls of the disciples (xiv. 22). Paul desires to be spent for the souls of the Corinthians (2 Cor. xii. 15), and exhorts believers (Eph. vi. 6) to do the will of God from the heart (*ἐκ ψυχῆς*). So also Col. iii. 23. Watching for souls (Heb. xiii. 17) is spoken of, the fainting of souls (xii. 3) exhorted against. The salvation of souls is often alluded to (1 Pet. i. 9; James i. 21; v. 20; Heb. x. 39). Hope is an anchor of the soul (Heb. vi. 19), and fleshly lusts war against it (1 Pet. ii. 11). There are unstable souls (2 Pet. ii. 14), and souls kept stable (1 Pet. iv. 19) by the bishop of our souls (ii. 25), which therefore prosper (3 John ii.). The souls of the martyrs are represented as crying out for vengeance (Rev. vi. 9), and as afterwards living and reigning with Christ (xx. 4).

The adjective from the word "soul" (*ψυχικός*, psychical or

soulish) is only met with in the New Testament in the passages we have already noted (1 Cor. ii. 14; xv. 44, 46; James iii. 15; Jude 19), where it is always used in its strict signification.

The psychology of the Old Testament is by no means so precise. *Nephesh* (נֶפֶשׁ) ψυχή, soul, and *ruach* (רוּחַ) πνεῦμα, spirit, are used without in general any precise difference. The doctrine about the spirit and its life was reserved for New Testament times to unfold. For the distinction between spirit and soul has much to do with that life and immortality which has been brought to light by the Gospel. Spirit and soul in the Old Testament were not well distinguished from one another, and both are said to belong to the beast that perisheth. See for the application of רוּחַ, as signifying the soul, to both Eccles. iii. 21; viii. 8; xii. 7. Other passages, however, alluding to Messianic times use the word in the New Testament sense. So Ezek. xi. 19; xviii. 31, especially the latter passage, which might almost be cited in proof of the tripartite nature of man. But the phrase רוּחַ חַיִּים is used with reference both to man and beast in Gen. vi. 17; vii. 15, 22.

But while we cannot discover much of the New Testament doctrine concerning the spirit in the Old Testament, as out of place there till the Holy Ghost should be poured out on all flesh, as predicted to take place in the times of the Christ, we can see more of the New Testament doctrine about the soul. There is not a syllable spoken about its immortality in the Old Testament, though there are many proofs there of a future life. The soul is represented as having an intimate connection with the blood, a connection which modern science seems to confirm (see Gen. ix. 4, 5; Lev. xvii. 11; Deut. xii. 23, etc., and compare Lam. ii. 12). The soul therefore requires for its nourishment the nourishment of the bodily frame with which it is so closely conjoined. It is said to belong to the animals as well as man (see Gen. i. 21, 24; ii. 7, 19; ix. 10, 12, 15; Lev. xi. 10, etc. The word is sometimes used of the soul in ordinary phraseology, as Gen. xxxv. 18; 1 Kings xvii. 21; Job xiv. 22, etc. It is often used of the compound being, who lives, thinks, wills, and acts. In this sense, as Mr. Heard notes, it "is exactly equivalent to Aristotle's use of ψυχή." Thus, it sometimes is

almost identical with our "person." It is sufficient to refer to Lev. v. 1 ; Joshua x. 28, 30, 32, 35, 37, for proofs are abundant. Hence we read of killing the soul or person (Numb. xxxi. 19). For this reason arises the use of such phrases as נַפֶּשׁ, "my soul," for "myself;" נַפְשִׁי, for "thyself," etc. In the sense of person it is applied even to one who is dead, נֶפֶשׁ מֵת (Numb. vi. 6 ; Lev. xxi. 11), and even used in this same signification without the qualifying מֵת, dead (so Numb. v. 2 ; ix. 6, 7, 10 ; Lev. xxii. 1 ; Haggai ii. 13, etc.), though we must not imagine it is at all synonymous with body. Mr. Heard has correctly caught the distinction, when he says : "The ruach and the nephesh are certainly distinguished from each other, as the animus and the anima of the Latins, the πνεῦμα and the ψυχή of the Greeks. But the distinction was rather between the lower and the middle than between the middle and the higher kind of life. Nephesh and psyche are used in the Old Testament to distinguish the animal from the intellectual, not the intellectual from the spiritual, properly so called. The nephesh of the Old Testament is a general term expressive of life." Every living thing has a soul that has conscious personality, for to nothing else is the word applied, but every such thing has a soul so far as it is an individual.

Now the psychology of Scripture has an important bearing on its vital doctrines. For we may see at once from the mere statement of the nature of man, as we have defined it, that there are in man three specifically distinct tendencies : those arising from his body or the sensual (in a good sense), those springing from his soul or the intellectual, and those which have their source in his spirit or the spiritual. The state of perfection would be when all these forces are held in perfect equilibrium, and this we may presume was the condition in which our first parents were when they were originally created.

This point being conceded, we may, from a survey of what we find man is now by nature, come to some idea in what the Fall consisted. We do not find that equilibrium within us now, but rather a war in our members, the body warring against the soul, the sensual inclinations often overcoming the rational or intellectual powers, and the latter, not content with their own



proper sphere, usurping authority over the spiritual. Now as it is clear that the higher ought to rule the lower, so it is manifest that the intellect or the reason ought to govern the bodily powers, and that it in turn ought to be subject to the spiritual capacity. In plain words, our duty to God and duty to man ought to be the rules by which all our faculties in the last resort ought to be directed. But, alas! the Fall has destroyed the proper balance in our nature. The soul, or the union point between body and spirit, in which self-consciousness, or the ego, resides, was free to chose between the bodily or the spiritual point of attraction. Our first parents chose the evil, and rejected the good. They thus obtained an inclination to evil, they weakened or deadened their spirits, they lost the life which had been breathed from heaven into their spirits, and hence they have transmitted this evil bias to their posterity. For original sin is not so much positive in its nature as negative. It is the deadening of the spirit that has given the upper hand to the soul or body.

Mr. Heard's chapter on original sin is well worth a careful study. He notes correctly that Adam's posterity, though their spirit has lost its life and energy, have yet within them the spirit as an undeveloped power; that the remnant of the spirit that yet remains in the fallen children of man is conscience, which witnesses for God in us, and which reminds us, too, that we have duties to discharge towards our fellow men. This conscience in the unregenerate accuses or else excuses their conduct, but does not give any happy consciousness of God, nor does it, unless when blinded by self-righteousness, approve our conduct; as there is always some undefined sense of sin which is felt by conscience.

Reason or intellect has very commonly been considered to be the distinguishing mark whereby man is separated from "the beasts that perish." But modern science has done much to break down the old distinctions which used to be drawn between reason and instinct, and rather tends to shew that animals have reason as well as man, though not of course in the same degree. It has been, however, generally conceded by naturalists, that no traces whatever of the religious and moral faculty are discover-

able among the animals. On this point Mr. Heard takes his stand, and maintains with much ability that it is conscience, the germ of the spirit, which is the real distinguishing mark between man and beast. In connection with his theory that conscience is the relics of the spirit, the shattered spirit feebly testifying of its heavenly birth, he takes note of the fact that no mention is made in Scripture of the conscience of our Lord Jesus Christ, and accounts for it by saying that as Christ took all the parts of our nature in perfection, his spirit was a perfect spirit, "not that feeble semi-animate conscience which stirs, and only stirs, in our present fallen nature . . . In his case, who always lived in unbroken communion with God, the word conscience would be quite inadequate to express that full intercourse of his spirit with that of his Father in heaven. Such exercises of prayer as his, such nights of rapt enjoyment of God, and of ecstasy of spiritual worship are, to the stirrings of God-consciousness in us, what sunlight is to the smoking wick of an expiring candle. If conscience were an integral part of sinless human nature, we should read of it in Christ. But supposing it to be the remains of a nobler faculty, which has been injured past human recovery, then we can see why, while we read of the spirit of Christ,—of his being troubled in spirit, and knowing in his spirit,—we do not read of the conscience of Christ. Conscience and the law of God are correlative terms; and as the holy Christ lived above the law, so he lived above the level of conscience. The lower in his case was taken up into the higher. For legal obedience, he had a delight in the law of God; for the voice of conscience, he was led up of the Spirit, God's Spirit indwelling in his in a union as deep and mystical as that of the Persons of the Blessed Trinity."

Such a view of Biblical psychology places the Christian on a vantage ground from which to contend against modern materialism and rationalism. It enables him to view without alarm the attempts of modern naturalists to connect together man and the higher class of animals. We need no longer fight as if for life and death about the peculiarities in the human brain or the human hand, or on such like points. While we gaze on the contests of rival naturalists with interest, assured that when the

battle is decided the truths of the Bible will be found to be confirmed, not overturned, yet we can with more quiet minds await in patience the result of the engagement, knowing that after all it is in the spirit that man's real *differentia* from the brutes lies, and his real superiority over them is the fact that he has a conscience towards God and his fellow-man.

Professor Agassiz, the well-known naturalist, has remarked with much truth that most of the arguments of philosophy in favour of the immortality of man apply equally to the permanency of this principle in other beings. He means that there are many strong arguments which can be adduced "in favour of the existence in every animal of an immaterial principle similar to that which by its excellence and superior endowments places man so much above animals. The principle exists unquestionably; and whether it be called soul, instinct, or reason, it presents in the whole range of organized beings a series of phenomena closely linked together, and upon it are based not only the higher manifestations of the mind, but the very permanence of the specific differences which characterize every organ."

When naturalists are coming to these conclusions, when the traditional statement that man has a soul and the brutes have none finds no longer unquestioning assent, it is time for Christian divines to abandon the well-nigh ruined fortifications of the Platonic philosophy, whereby they have hitherto sought to maintain the immortality of the soul, and to betake themselves no longer to the arguments of Socrates in the *Phædo* to uphold the immortality of man, but to the teaching of the Lord Jesus Christ, whereby he comforted his disciples in the hour of perplexity: "Because I live, ye shall live also" (John xiv. 19).

Mr. Heard's chapter on "the Natural Immortality of the Psyche," or soul, is one which is worthy of the careful attention of Christian divines. Reviewing in succession the proofs which have been adduced by philosophers, the metaphysical, the ontological, and the theological, he arrives at the conclusion that they are all unsatisfactory; they are instincts of an hereafter, they are not proofs of an immortality; they are presages rather than proofs, hopes rather than clear arguments. In his

own eloquent words: "They bring reason, like the women, early to the tomb of Jesus, but they are unable to roll away the stone, much less to bring the dead to life."

Immortality, if it appertain at all to man *per se*, is resident in his spirit, not his soul. We say advisedly if it really does belong to man *per se*. But we doubt this point. Scripture nowhere asserts it, philosophy is unable to prove it. The doctrine of a future state does not prove that state to be eternal. It might be naturally supposed that as this present state has an end, so the future one would terminate also. If the present state ends with the destruction of our bodies, might not the future state be supposed to terminate with the dissolution of our souls? If the first death be the death of the body, might not the second death be the death of the soul? If bodily consciousness ceases here, might not spiritual consciousness terminate hereafter? A slight cause can put a rapid end to our existence here, might not some greater cause terminate our consciousness hereafter? Are there not analogies enough to make us entertain the idea? Has not many a gifted soul been overcome on this side the grave with insanity, and fallen ultimately into idiotcy? and can we not imagine that what happens before our bodily eyes might conceivably occur hereafter? Are we so profoundly acquainted with the secrets of eternity that we can tell what may or may not occur during the everlasting ages to come? Bishop Butler's argument is conclusive that no valid objection can be drawn against a future state of existence from the analogies of natural things; but the refutation of an objection is one thing, the building up of a theory is another.

In arguing in this manner our object is to shew that outside of Scripture in general, and of the New Testament in particular, we have really no solid proofs of immortality. The resurrection of the body is the crowning revelation in the New Testament; the most clear proofs for man's immortality are those adduced by St. Paul in the fifteenth chapter of the First Epistle to the Corinthians. And thus is it of great importance to note that while the apostolic utterances are clear and distinct as to the immortality of the righteous, body, soul and spirit, there is not one word said about the immortality of the wicked. That

they will rise again with their bodies to give account for their works is clear from Scripture; that their bodies will be incorruptible, or their souls immortal, is nowhere laid down. That they will go into eternal punishment while the righteous enter into eternal life is perfectly scriptural to assert, but that eternal punishment means more than punishment as long as they may exist, without asserting how long that may be possible, is what cannot be deduced from the uniform use of the word in the Bible. Life means existence, and conscious existence too, but punishment cannot be proved necessarily to convey this fulness of meaning. It was punishment for the king of Judah not only that he should be slain, but that his dead body should receive the burial of an ass, drawn forth and cast beyond the gates of Jerusalem. It formed part of the punishment of criminals in former days that their bodies should be cut up in pieces or hung up in chains. But consciousness was never supposed to reside in their bodily frames while the punishment was being carried out.

We do not mean to enter here again into the discussion of this question, but must refer to our previous paper on the subject.<sup>b</sup> We ought, however, to remark that Mr. Heard has not gone so far, though we consider that his arguments when carried out to their full conclusion support our view. For he considers, and rightly too, that "the proofs of the life everlasting must rest, not on the argument for the natural immortality of the psyche, but on the gift of eternal life to the pneuma, when quickened and renewed in the image of God."

And this remark leads us to refer briefly to one of the most important parts of Mr. Heard's work, namely, that which speaks of the new birth or conversion. The new birth is the quickening of the dead, deadened, or dormant spirit by the operation of the Holy Ghost. Here he coincides fully with the evangelical school of divines, while he bases his doctrine on a safer theological foundation than many of them do. He fully teaches that man is unable of his own powers to turn to God. The life of the unregenerate spirit is compared in him to the

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<sup>b</sup> See the article on *Eternal Punishment and Immortality*, in the number of this Journal for January, 1866.

life of the embryo which stirs, but cannot act or think. The spirit is dormant in the sense that Christ alone can awake it by the cry, "Awake to righteousness, and sin not." It is dead in the sense that Lazarus was when Christ called him out of the grave, but the dead can hear the voice of the Son of God, and they that hear it shall live (John v. 25). We are born again by the Word, the incorruptible Word which, as St. Peter tells us (1st Epist. i. 23), conveys the seed of eternal life into our hearts when attended by the life-giving energy of the Holy Spirit. The spirit has usually its birth pangs,—the pangs of conviction, they accompany, though they do not cause life. The spirit is quickened by the Spirit, and so the believer having again received the life from above becomes a child of God. Christ is the giver of the spirit, the new-born are in a sense his children (Is. liii. 10). Christ is, however, one also with them in nature and in the baptism of the Spirit; only while believers receive it in measure, he has received it without measure (John i. 16; iii. 34). Therefore is he termed our brother too. The seed once really given springs up in the heart, the man once regenerated is, and continues ever to be, a child of God, "being kept by the power of God by faith unto salvation." The spirit is quickened here, but it does not become at once the master-faculty of our nature. The work of sanctification is slow, but sure, though not completed on this side the grave. It is brought to perfection in a future state. We are when regenerated in one sense but babes or children all our life long,—we are here in Christ's nursery or infant school. In the intermediate state we shall perhaps be in Christ's university, and shall learn lessons which we are here unable to comprehend; and on the resurrection-morn, our education being completed, we shall rise in the image of Christ's likeness, immortal and full of glory.

This mode of stating the results of Mr. Heard's book is our own; he is no way responsible for it. But we think it is a true statement, and that it sheds much light on the disputed question of the fatherhood of God. God is seen to be the Father of the spirits of the righteous, the God of the souls of all men. But we shall not enter into this point, as we propose to discuss it more fully hereafter. We would close here, having thus indi-

cated the importance of this new contribution to theology. We have by no means pointed out all that is valuable in it; we have passed over in silence the remarks on the resurrection body, which are most deeply interesting and most valuable. But we hope we have said enough to encourage others to study it for themselves, and to lead them to see that most important arguments against modern unbelief may be derived from a study of Biblical psychology, and much light thrown by it upon many vexed questions in theology.

M.A., TRIN. COLL., DUB.

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*Nile Mud.*—The late Mr. Horner once shewed, at a meeting of the Geological Society, a scrap of ancient pottery obtained from a boring deep down in the Nile deposits, near Memphis, which he called the oldest document in the world. Though his views were not shared by all who saw the relic, it was regarded with interest as evidence of a fact in the history of man and of his antiquity. But Professor Unger, in a paper communicated to the Imperial Academy of Sciences at Vienna, shews that Egyptian bricks are more interesting, for they contain a variety of evidence preserved, as it seems, in an imperishable form. In his latest researches he has examined a brick from the pyramid of Dashour, which dates from between 3,400 and 3,300 B.C., and found imbedded among the Nile mud or slime, chopped straw, and sand of which it is composed, remains of vegetable and animal forms, and of the manufacturing arts, entirely unchanged. So perfectly, indeed, have they been preserved in the compact substance of the brick, that he experienced but little or no difficulty in identifying them. By this discovery Professor Unger makes us acquainted with wild and cultivated plants which were growing in the pyramid-building days; with fresh-water shells, fishes, remains of insects, and so forth, and a swarm of organic bodies, which, for the most part, are represented without alteration in Egypt at the present time. Besides two sorts of grain—wheat and barley—he found the teff (*Eragrostis abyssinica*), the field-pea (*Pisum arvense*), the common flax (*Linum usitatissimum*),—the latter having, in all probability, been cultivated as an article of food, as well as for spinning. The weeds are of the familiar kinds: wild radish (*Raphanus Raphanistrum*), corn chrysanthemum (*Chrysanthemum segetum*), wart-wort (*Euphorbia helioscopia*), nettle-leaved goosefoot (*Chenopodium murale*), bearded hare's ear (*Bupleurum arisatum*), and the common vetch (*Vicia sativa*).

**MR. HINTON'S METAPHYSICAL VIEWS.**

To ADJUST the respective claims of faith and intellect is one of the greatest,—nay, the great problem of our day. Men who are continually employing their reason in the investigation of the laws of nature, and who find that they are led to truth by accepting nothing which cannot be proved, are led to try their religion in the same way. They come upon great difficulties. Sometimes they solve them to the satisfaction of their own minds ; sometimes they are driven to hold their belief and their reason rigidly apart, to live in two worlds, one of sense where they test all things with logical keenness, one spiritual where they may not sift their convictions, and can only feel, not argue ; sometimes they arrive at the dreary conclusion that there is no such thing as certainty for man concerning spiritual things, that he must rest content with physical laws, and so they bow them down before a vision of iron necessity. In dread of this last result, men of faith are prone to increase the antagonism between believers and thinkers by extending their horror to any exertion of the intellect on religious matters, so that occasionally they seem almost to believe that our brains must come straight from the Evil One, or that, at any rate, if the Devil's advocates and God's were allowed to argue, the former must prevail. Happy in their faith, a light above all reason, they forget that there are others to whom it is a necessity to have their heads satisfied as well as their hearts.

To those, who while they feel faith to be the life of the soul, yet cannot possess it, or possessing it, still remain in restless misery as long as their reason is unsatisfied, two books have been addressed by Mr. Hinton,—*Man and His Dwelling Place*, and *Life in Nature*, which profess to shew the cause of this apparent incompatibility between intellect and religion, and to demonstrate that it is apparent, not real. Much there may be above our reason, but nothing unreasonable, and science contains no refutation of Christianity ; nay more, we have not half enough believed our Bibles, and by taking every word of our Lord and His apostles literally and simply we shall arrive at truths which we have overlooked, and which fit in and shed light on the grand



discoveries of modern research. Arguments which have been most feared as heterodox, discoveries which have been most puzzling, will be seen to be fragments of truth, and arrange themselves in their true place when looked at in the right light. Mr. Hinton does not attempt to reconcile difficulties one by one, but desires to revolutionize men's present way of looking at the world and at themselves; he believes that hitherto a wrong estimate has been formed of what nature is, and what man is, and of their relation to each other; that this fundamental mistake has thrown obscurities into all our theories, and that once cleared up, difficulties apparently insoluble will be cleared up with it. "I felt," he says, "that a doctrine legitimately arising out of studies which seemed purely scientific in their aim, possessed the highest religious significance, and not only promised, but gave a solution of some difficulties that had long perplexed the human mind, and even of some that had been pronounced insoluble." And again, "I think I have seen that science does of itself become religious, and affirm a doctrine respecting man which is one with the fundamental affirmation of the Christian records."<sup>a</sup>

Grand promises—but founded upon a demand which must by its very nature excite opposition, and win its way with difficulty, for this demand is nothing less than that we should make a fundamental alteration in our whole conception of things. Now the most wonderful discoveries or startling assertions which flow naturally from received opinions, are accepted of course more readily than any discovery or theory which involves a change in the mode of our feelings and ideas, a leaving our old channel, and finding a new way. There is the inevitable and rooted impression that the opinions, or, at any rate, the mode of opinion, held by wise men for ages, must be right; there is the presumption in favour of existing views, which, while no doubt it has often been a safeguard against wild and unwarrantable fancies, has also been an obstacle in the way of every newly found truth. Besides this, there is a real and great difficulty in seeing a new view fairly; our minds as it were have grown to fit into the old views, and therefore knock against the angles of a new belief, so that we cannot judge of its size or its limitations. We bring

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<sup>a</sup> Preface to *Man and His Dwelling Place*.

against it, as well as arguments, half unconscious prejudices, and cannot feel that it is true while it jostles against these. On the other hand we often fancy that it involves consequences that are not contained in it, and failing to see its real scope, fancy we discern in it some awful heresy which has no real existence, and then rush fiercely at the bugbear of our own construction. Mr. Hinton's views, owing both to their unfamiliarity and to some want of clearness in the way in which he has put them forth, are specially liable to such misconception. He is accused of Atheism, Pantheism, Mysticism, and all sorts of strange doctrines have been declared to be in the author's book, which neither entered into his mind, nor are logical conclusions from his premises.

This is particularly the case in the pamphlet on Pantheism reprinted from *The Journal of Sacred Literature*. But before endeavouring to shew in what the writer of the essay on "Pantheism in Particular" has mistaken Mr. Hinton, it will perhaps be better to state as shortly and clearly as I can what the theory of the latter is. I cannot of course give here the arguments by which he supports it; those must be sought in his works. I can only shew, as well as I am able, how he has honoured the discoveries of scientific men, and revered the teaching of the Bible; and what is that keystone by which he believes himself to have united religion and science in one perfect arch, each sustaining and answering to the other.

Now his view of nature is this. He goes thus far with the idealists, that he says the arguments against the possible existence of matter "are allowed by almost all who have paid attention to them to be logically conclusive; so that the ground which is taken on the other side is a falling back upon consciousness and common sense, the affirmation that reason cannot deal with these questions, and that matter must be believed although it can be disproved." Yet while the negative side of idealism is impregnable, it gives no satisfactory explanation of the world; it disproves a material world, but gives us nothing to rest upon instead, since to conceive these things, so real to us, as only ideas existing in a mind, is a thought too repugnant to our intuitions and our sense to obtain general acceptance. We have then in the world *something* which has an effect

upon us ; what that something is we do not know, but it is proved not to be the material thing it seems. It is, I think, Mr. Lewes who ably demonstrates that the world cannot be what it seems to us ; I quote the argument from memory, and therefore fear I have not done justice to its force, but the substance of it I understand to be this—we know the world through our senses, that is, we perceive the result produced by the union of our sense of sight, for instance, with something else, and what that something else is we know as little as we should know oxygen gas from contemplating water. Clearly it is not what we see, for in order to know the reality, we must be able to separate the effect of our sight from it. It is as though a creature with only the sense of feeling and no other means of judging of things should receive a blow ; he might naturally confound the sensation and the unknown cause, and personify the blow, and conceive perhaps a large apple simply as a pain. Can we then ever know anything of the reality of this nature whereof this only seems to be clear—that it is not what it appears ? Yes, Mr. Hinton says ; conceive the real Being of Nature to be spiritual, and this material world only phenomena caused by the action of the spiritual upon ourselves, and all our difficulties will solve themselves. Then we see that the world being only a phenomenal world, must appear to us as dead matter ; and yet we understand why we have that impression of life in nature which shews itself in poetry, and in every imaginative mind ; and also why the existence of matter can be disproved, since it is only a phenomenon, an appearance, and such of course have no real existence.

But then comes the question, If nature is alive, why do we perceive it as dead ? The answer is, Because of a defect, a want in ourselves. This deadness which we thought to be in nature is really in man. We know that any defect in ourselves makes us feel as if the defect were in the outer world. A blind man, if he had not other people's experience by which to correct his own, would not imagine that there was anything the matter with his eyes, but would conceive the world to be a world of darkness ; yet he would be continually coming to insuperable difficulties, and having to invent strange theories to account for

the things he found in the world, because he did not allow for the existence of light; and in the same way do we come to difficulties by not understanding that there is life in nature and defect in ourselves. It is surely this defect to which men allude without recognizing it, when they say, with Mr. Lewes, that man, from the limits of his nature, can never know the real truth of being, but must be content with discovering the invariable laws by which nature works, and its reference to himself. For there must be a want in us as compared with nature, it must be greater than we are, if we cannot understand it, since that which is less than itself the mind can take in. And if it is greater, to acknowledge that greatness must be the first step towards such an understanding of it as the capacity of man will allow. Again, it is this deadness which our hearts acknowledge when it is spoken of in such words as Tennyson's,

“ 'Tis life, whereof our nerves are scant,  
Oh life, not death for which we pant;  
More life, and fuller, that I want.”

Finally, the deadness of man is at the very root of the doctrines of the Bible. “To be carnally-minded is death,” St. Paul says; and again, “Who shall deliver me from the body of this death?” It is true that Christians who would assent to the doctrine of man's death, whenever it is put in the exact words of the Bible, have not considered it to be sufficiently real to make any difference in their perception of the world; but if after the fall, man entered into a state of death, must not that state inevitably have altered, lowered, and darkened his apprehension of all things around him. True also, that while the man who believes in Christ does then, St. Paul tells us, become “alive,” yet the world appears to him still as material a world as ever. “That is true,” Mr. Hinton says; “the individual life does not remove the deadness of man; that deadness, as it does not arise from a condition affecting the individual alone, so it cannot be removed by an individual change, therefore the man who has received eternal life from Christ is described thus by St. Paul—‘I delight in the law of God after the inward man, but I see another law in my members warring against the law of my mind, and bringing me into captivity to the law of sin, which is in my members: we wait for the adoption, the redemp-

tion of our body.' In him there is life struggling with death, a life that is given to him by Christ, a death that he partakes with humanity:"<sup>b</sup> and for perfect life, and for the spiritual body that "shall be raised in honour," we must wait for the time whereof St. John speaks when he says, "Beloved, now are we the sons of God, and it doth not yet appear what we shall be, but we know that when he shall appear, we shall be like him, for we shall see him as he is."

Now if these views are correct, it follows,

I. That there may be a glorious future for philosophy, seeing that if there has been a mistake running through all the various systems, which, framed by splendid intellects, have yet failed one after the other, that mistake once corrected, the value of their work and the amount of truth in it may be discovered, when it is seen where the error lies; and so men may build on a secure foundation.

II. We may delight in all the discoveries of science, not only for their present usefulness, but in hope; because to know all about the laws of the phenomena must be the best foundation for learning something of that which causes them.

III. We see that in the Bible on this view there are truths to whose full scope we are only just awakening. Does it not answer to what we should expect of an inspired record, that while all that is necessary for the kindling of that eternal life may be seen by the most ignorant, yet that the more men grow in knowledge and wisdom, the higher significance should they find in the old words, and the more should they see a fresh light thrown upon their discoveries by the Bible? Again, rejoicing in the thought that men are being redeemed, brought to life, and realizing what is that "body of death" from which St. Paul desired to be free, we may more fully comprehend what it will be to be made alive, when the body and soul are both redeemed, and we enter into that joy which "eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither hath it entered into the heart of man to conceive."

Now as to the objections which are brought against Mr. Hinton's doctrines in the pamphlet on Pantheism, in the first place, it is assumed that these doctrines are Pantheistic. But in the first of the two articles Pantheism is defined as of two

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<sup>b</sup> *Man and His Dwelling Place*, Page 212.

kinds, and of the grosser form it is said: "The metaphysical defect of this phase of Pantheism is its assumption of the independent existence of matter" (page 7). This cannot be the Pantheism of the man who says there is no such thing as matter at all, it is only an appearance. But, again, there is a spiritual Pantheism that "contemplates God as the universal spirit, of whom individual minds are the special manifestation. . . . Under both" (spiritual and material Pantheism) "the Creator is merged in his creation, the one is lost in the many, unity is absorbed in multiplicity, and the circumference is presented devoid of its centre" (page 8). This cannot be the faith of the man who says, "I hold the Creator to be distinct from the creature, and that the Divine Being is in the fullest and truest sense the Personal one."<sup>c</sup>

But the grounds on which the accusation is brought against Mr. Hinton are stated further on in the pamphlet. Shortly, Mr. Hinton's theory is said to be this: "To be alive, man must be one with nature. Man is to be absorbed in God in order to form a one; therefore God, and nature, and man, as living man, are one and the same. Such is the system, or at least one of the great features thereof" (page 22). This is a cleverly put sentence; but there is a mistake in it as to what Mr. Hinton really says. Mr. Hinton does say that man should feel. "In becoming one with that which nature *is*, I live." That is, not (as I suppose the author of the pamphlet concludes that Mr. Hinton means) that union with nature makes man alive in some mysterious way; but that nature being alive, man, when he loses his deadness, becomes partaker of the same life. But when Mr. Hinton further says, not that man is absorbed in God (that phrase he expressly repudiates in a passage quoted in the pamphlet, "the notion of 'absorption' bears self upon its face: we think of God as physical"), but that man has "his true life only when God dwells and acts in him"—that, as St. Paul says, "He that is joined unto the Lord is one spirit"—that to live truly will be to be delivered from the "body of death," the bondage of corruption, and to have only divine thoughts and will, God's life within us; and that if nature is

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<sup>c</sup> Preface to *Man and his Dwelling Place*, p. 11.

alive, that also can only live in God—this is not to say that man, and nature, and God, are one and the same. Is the finger the man, is the leaf the tree, is the part the whole? If God created man and nature out of nothing, then must they be emanations of his thought and his will; and God's thought and will are part of God; but to assert this, is not to say such emanations are God, though it is only in and by Him that they exist. I suppose that the views advocated in the first of the two articles in this pamphlet may be taken to be in accordance with those of the second; and in the article on "Pantheism in General" I find these words: "Now, again, do not let it be supposed from the severity of these remarks that we are blind to the sublime veracities which spiritual Pantheism embodies. It is quite true that every individual mind is the organ of the universal—as true as that every blossom is an integral part of the tree on which it grows. It is quite true that the infinite Spirit is present in the consciousness of all his children. They are the planets of which He is the sun, and the very perfection of their being consists in their *oneness* with Him. But, then, let it never be forgotten that there is the Father as well as the children," etc. (page 8). Now, the announcing of these truths is as far in Pantheism as Mr. Hinton goes. He does not forget the one God over all; but he does assert that only in this one God has man life; that self, which is the power of going wrong, the desire after evil, which is weakness, pain, folly, is the thing from which we should long to be freed; that to have God's life within, that life from which comes all goodness, all true affection, all true love of beauty, and all wisdom, and to be conscious that this is God working in us, that it is his divine life, is life indeed. And this surely is what we find in the Bible. "For in him we live, and move, and have our being; as certain also of your own poets have said, 'For we are also his offspring.'" And, again, our Lord's prayer: "And the glory which thou gavest me I have given them; that they may be one, even as we are one: I in them, and thou in me, that they may be made perfect in one." If words mean anything, these affirm that we shall be one with God, as Christ is one with him. That living nature is also united, or to be united, with

the Godhead, is also surely implied when we are told that at the end "God shall be all in all." But this does not make man or nature, God, identical with him, as great as he is; neither does it reduce us to nothing, but raises us to higher, to true life.

Besides the accusation of Pantheism, there are various other objections brought against Mr. Hinton by the author of "*Pantheism in Particular*."

1st. An objection as to the manner of his first book, *Man and his Dwelling Place*, that the assertion "Man is dead; nature is alive," is repeated again and again with wearisome reiteration.

2nd. That this assertion that "Nature is alive and man dead," is utterly absurd, and that the thing is impossible.

3rd. That Mr. Hinton says man is to become alive by adopting his (Mr. H.'s) views.

4th. That confused and complex theories are introduced into the book which do not flow naturally from the fundamental idea of man's deadness and nature's life.

5th. That Mr. Hinton disbelieves in the resurrection.

(a.) There is a great deal of repetition in the book. This Mr. Hinton allows. His object has been to prove that man is dead and nature alive. Believing that there is proof of this in science, in philosophy, and in the Bible, he has given these three proofs separately, and therefore we have three separate arguments coming to the same result. Still, these separate arguments might have been given with less repetition of ideas, and even of words, and the work would have gained in clearness and beauty.

(b.) It is absurd to say that man is dead, and nature alive. The first argument to prove this is one that has great apparent force. "In the first place, there is evidently a great preliminary difficulty in the way of deciding that man can be quite dead, and yet be the person that the Hintonian system is to set upon his legs, as a truly living existent. Again, to accede to the position that nature is alive while man is dead, it seems necessary to believe that life can be objective to, and can come to be perceived by, a dead thing, a non-existing personal percipient. Nature is alive, and man is to become alive, by coming to perceive that, while he is dead, nature is living; this seems to be almost an impossibility" (page 11).



But, in the first place, Mr. Hinton does not say man can perceive with his senses that nature is alive, but that he may believe and know it, which is a very different thing. It is quite possible to be conscious of a want, a deadness in ourselves. The blind man may know that he is blind, and that there is such a thing as light, though he cannot see. We may believe that the world is spiritual, but for all our believing it will still appear to our senses as material. To see it as spiritual we must wait for the spiritual body. Further, man himself, quite dead, could not see his deadness. St. Paul, when in ignorance of the truth, was dead and knew it not, but when life awoke in him, he became conscious of the "body of this death." Mr. Hinton believes that man is "being redeemed," and that, therefore, he can now discern life, and that as he grows in life he will more and more know what death is, and understand nature and what is spiritual, though he cannot perceive nature as spiritual till the redemption of the body.

Further, the objector goes on to imply that he cannot at all understand what Mr. Hinton supposes nature to be, or how there is a life in it. He calls it, with great care, Mr. Hinton's nature, and says it is different from everybody else's nature, but this is not exactly an objection necessary to answer, because when a man declares "I have found a truth which nobody has discovered before," to reply, "Nobody has discovered it before, therefore it is not true," is not an argument, though a very natural feeling. But whatever the Hintonian nature may be, says the writer of the pamphlet, it is something which "lies at the back of other people's nature. The one (the Hintonian) is substratum to the other. Nature, as consisting of the aggregate of phenomena, is as unreal and dead as man himself. The nature which is spiritual and alive, not inert, but brisk and active, lies behind the scenes." Therefore, the writer argues, when man swallows a seidlitz powder, he is dead, and the seidlitz powder is dead, but there is a live spiritual seidlitz powder in the background. Amusingly and cleverly put, but Mr. Hinton would not say there is a spiritual seidlitz powder, but that a spiritual acting cause makes me perceive what I call seidlitz powder. This is not a verbal distinction only. A cause is not substratum

to the effect. The wind blows on my cheek, and occasions a sensation of coldness. I do not say, "Though this coldness is only a feeling, there is a real coldness behind it which makes me feel it," but I say, "there is a wind, a cause which occasions this feeling of coldness." As the wind to the coldness, so is living nature to phenomena. And though it may be easy to put the case in a ridiculous light, yet it will seem less strange to conceive a spiritual cause producing a material effect, when we remember the enormous influence which causes, that we should all call spiritual, have upon our physical frame. Feeling will take away our appetite, or interfere with our digestion; excitement will enable us to endure such fatigue without trouble, and without after ill effect, as would have crushed us at any other time; it will even enable us to live upon less food than would suffice for our health ordinarily. Still more forcibly in point is the case of dreams, and the way in which they will sometimes produce the same result on the body as if the thing we dream of had been real. We wake as exhausted as if the struggles we have only imagined had actually taken place.

Nature then, as it actually exists, is in the spiritual sense living; and this life it is which causes us to perceive the things around us. As to the absolute nature of this life in itself, he does not pronounce. But to the man on whose cheek the wind was blowing, and who had confounded the coldness with the cause of that coldness, it would be an advance in knowledge to discover that the coldness was not an absolute separate existence, but the effect of an unseen cause, even if he did not know the other properties of wind. So, if Mr. Hinton is right, it is a distinct gain, and a great step towards a knowledge of the true life, to be aware that this life is the cause of the phenomena around us, and not identical with them. One thing I may safely say, Mr. Hinton does not conceive spiritual life to be at all like a ghost in a cellar, as this writer erroneously supposes.

(c.) Mr. Hinton is supposed to assert that by adopting his views, man is to become alive. But Mr. Hinton says, "Simple it is, indeed, that Christ died to save us, and that believing in Him we have eternal life. Ever the conviction, in whatever

ignorance held, that God sacrifices Himself for us, saves us from death, and makes us new creatures."

(d.) Mr. Hinton's scheme is said to be full of disjointed particulars which do not hang together. I have been unable myself to find any part of the theory which is not argued out, or does not flow from, the fundamental idea that nature is alive and man dead or possessed of defective life. The instance given is, "If an inquirer were to suppose that there was anything real or factual in the sun, or the moon, or the stars; in the earth on which we tread, or in anything which it contains; the person imagining so would be told that he was mightily mistaken. None of these things are facts; there is not a bit of reality about them. What, then, is this earth, and the starry sky, which are not facts nor realities? They are phenomena. They have a sort of mean, despicable, phenomenal existence; no more" (page 14).

But surely it follows inevitably, if we believe that nature really is life which, coming in contact with our imperfect selves, causes us to perceive what we call a material world, that this material world must be phenomena, and not reality. An appearance caused by something else cannot have any real existence any more than a shadow. It is a little odd to find this idea so contemptuously alluded to, in an article bound up with one wherein we find Pantheism condemned because "It treads the adamantine pavements of the material universe, and talks in childish confidence of their everlasting, because self-subsistent duration, apparently without the shadow of a suspicion that they may, nay, that they are and must be, 'such stuff as dreams are made of,' unsubstantial as 'the fabric of a vision,' destined some day to 'leave not a wrack behind'" (page 7).

Though the writer might not agree with Mr. Hinton as to the cause of phenomena, he here asserts quite as emphatically the unreality of the material world.

(e.) Mr. Hinton's doctrines are said to be inconsistent with a belief in the resurrection; and this because, when the reader is supposed to ask what happens at the death of the body, the author declines the question, and further says, "In order to believe that man is to be saved, we need not know what happens at death." Several more passages are quoted to this effect, and

also saying that death is a bodily or phenomenal change ; but it is hardly necessary to quote the others, as they amount to the same thing. But to say, I do not know what change the death of the body makes in the spirit of man, but I rather imagine it cannot make any, is not to say, I do not believe in the resurrection of the dead, that is to say, in man's receiving a spiritual body bye and bye. As to eternal life, Mr. Hinton's whole scheme rests on the idea, distinctly stated in the Bible, that those who believe in Christ have already received eternal life, and that in a future state this life will be perfected by the redemption of the body, by that change which St. Paul tells us will pass alike upon the dead, and upon those who "are alive and remain." Mr. Hinton would believe in our Lord's resurrection, and in the resurrection from the dead, as simply as his antagonist. It is just through that resurrection, that he believes we see how the Pagan world, and indeed the Christian too, have over-estimated the dreadfulness of material death. When we know the truth of what our Lord says, "He that liveth and believeth on me shall never die," we see that what we ought to fear is not the physical change which we call death, but that death of the spirit which may be in those whom we call alive. This faith is quite consistent with saying, I do not know what happens to man on the death of his body. The Bible surely gives us no definite information on that point, and Christians have held very various views concerning it. Some believe that each individual at his death immediately receives a spiritual body ; but others hold that the dead remain in a sort of sleep or quiescent state, or, at any rate, are "not clothed upon" at once with their house from heaven, and this latter view is borne out by several passages in the Bible. There is the vision in the Revelation where the souls beneath the altar are seen waiting for the redemption of their brethren ; and St. Paul's simile of the seed dying and rising to new life, though one cannot draw any certain conclusion from it, seems to imply a lapse of time between the dying and the rising again. But whatever may be the truth on these points, to hold no definite opinions concerning them is perfectly compatible with the firmest faith in the resurrection and eternal life.

In conclusion, the writer on Pantheism observes that Mr. Hinton says he believes in God and Christ, redemption and sacrifice, and that an honest countryman might be very much astonished when he had finished reading the book at being told "that the use of all these pious terms was fallacious, a deadly moral sophism, intended to be the cover of a philosophy of vain deceit." I own to have shared the astonishment of the imaginary countryman; for while it is open to any one to expose what he deems inconsistencies in an author, it is surely unfair to declare that though he says distinctly that he believes in such and such things, he really disbelieves them all. I have sought to shew that there is no real inconsistency between Mr. Hinton's views of life and of nature, and those doctrines of the Bible in which he puts his faith, but that, on the contrary, these views of nature lead to the fullest reception of the Christian belief as to the fall of man, salvation, and eternal life. I have felt, to the full, the difficulty, with my own imperfect power of expression and stumbling utterance, of replying to arguments urged with so much talent and force of words. I have, therefore, very much rejoiced when, as will be seen in one or two instances, I have found exactly what I wished to say, in language so much better than my own would have been, in the very powerful and delightful article on "Pantheism in General." But though I may have stated the case very feebly, I do see most clearly the misconception on which the opposition to Mr. Hinton is based. It is clearly brought out in the last lines before me. Mr. Hinton is represented as refusing to pronounce whether the death of the body is the death of man in every sense. Mr. Hinton, in reality, refuses to pronounce whether the death of the body makes any kind of change in the spirit of man, though he inclines to think that it cannot do so. But whether it does or not, he says, "The perfect redemption of the individual is in the redemption of man. When man is saved, then there is no more death. Death is destroyed. God is all in all." And again, "Our life is eternal. We know that passing things are not the fact with which we have to do. We look for the crown of life in heaven" (pages 212, 215).

## THE BRETON BIBLE.\*

BY DR. TREGELLES.

No one who really values sacred literature in any true or extended sense can be altogether indifferent to such a fact as the first appearance of a complete version of the Scriptures in any language; in some cases the issue of such a translation marks an epoch in the civilization of a people; in others it points out a stage reached in their Christian history.

When we observe the direct influence of the Scripture in Protestant countries, and the indirect effects flowing from its existence in those which are Roman Catholic, it is most evident that, irrespective even of the spiritual results, the Bible has made Christendom what it is, so far as any apprehension exists of truth, uprightness, or morality of action; and if these are the results of the mere use of Scripture as an external thing, what must be its effect when any receive the testimony there given, as that which can make wise unto salvation through faith which is in Christ Jesus?

Hindered as the real use of Scripture is in Roman Catholic countries, yet even there it may be seen that more or less reflected light shines on the hearts and consciences of men. However much all true apprehension of right and wrong may be obscured by superstitions, false doctrines on vital points, and idolatrous observances, yet it is certain that the darkness would be yet more palpable if some rays of light borrowed from Holy Scripture did not shine even there.

Many may ask, who or what the Breton people may be, and why should it be thought needful or desirable that they should have a translation of the Bible into their own vernacular tongue? Had the Bretons inhabited some distant island, or if they had been a tribe of India or America, it is probable that far more effort would have been made on their behalf, as to both Bible translation and Missionary labours; but they live too

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\* *Bibl Santel, pe Levr ar Skritur Sakr*, lekeat e Brezounek gant ann Aotrou Le Gonidec, E San-Briek, 1866. ("The Holy Bible, or the Book of the Sacred Scriptures, translated into Breton, by Monsieur Le Gonidec, St. Brieuc, 1866.") 2 vols. 8vo.

near our shores, so that they have in a great measure been overlooked.

Brittany is the ancient province situated in the north-west of France; the Bretons, who still speak their own ancient tongue, inhabit the Departments of Finistère, Morbihan, and the south-western portion of Côtes du Nord; the first of which comprehends the ancient bishoprics of Léon and Cornouailles (or Quimper), the second, that of Vannes, and the third, in general that of Tréguier. This fourfold division of Breton speaking Brittany (*la Bretagne Bretonnante*), has a considerable bearing on the people, their habits, and even their speech. The population of this Breton-speaking land appears from the most recent returns to be, at least, one million and a quarter, and of these the great majority know the Breton tongue—and no other—as the medium of familiar communication.

There is an apocryphal account narrated by M. le Vicomte Hersart de la Villemarqué (Membre de la Institut,) to whom Breton literature is so much indebted, respecting a Breton version of the Scriptures, executed three centuries and a half ago by the order of Anne of Brittany, the last native Duchess, twice Queen Consort of France, first as the wife of Charles VIII., and afterwards of Louis XII. In his *Essai sur l'Histoire de la langue Bretonne* (prefixed to the *Dictionnaire Français-Breton* of Le Gonidec), he says,—“Another Breton-armorican work still more important—THE HOLY SCRIPTURES, translated by order of the Duchess Anne of Brittany,<sup>b</sup> and which the clergy of the country believed that they ought to allow to be taken away by the reformed Welsh-Bretons,<sup>c</sup> who printed it in London, served also as a model for the Welsh translations of the *Bible*, in spite of the efforts of Henry VIII., who caused almost all the copies of it to be burnt.<sup>d</sup> Had it been published in France, as the author wished, and had it remained in Brittany, this inestimable book, in offering to the piety of the inhabitants a daily food, as useful as agreeable, would have hindered the decay

<sup>b</sup> For this passage Villemarqué subjoins the note “Longuerana, page 221.”

<sup>c</sup> “Giles de Kerampuil, recteur de Cléden-Poher, traduction Bretonne du Catéchisme Latin du P. Canisius. Préface. Paris: Jacques Keruer, 1576.”

<sup>d</sup> “*Myvyrian Archaeology of Wales*, préface, page 10.”

of the national idiom. But the clergy hindered even its re-entry. We must, they said, regard with suspicion a translation which, because of the imperfection of the language, cannot be easily made without error and corruption, and we must set the security of the faith above that of the Breton language.<sup>d</sup> In reality, both could only have been gainers by this translation of the Scriptures into the vulgar language; the more so since it was *without any alteration*, according to the formal testimony of P. Grégoire, who had it in his hands.<sup>e</sup> Thus in losing it, both were losers, as we shall soon see." (p. 37.)

We give the whole of the statement of M. de la Villemarqué, with his own notes of reference to authorities; but more exact information is needed before we can fully admit the accuracy of the statement. We should be glad to know *what* it was that Grégoire of Rostrenan had in his hands in 1732, when his Dictionary appeared.

It is certain that the Welsh versions of the Scriptures were derived from the Hebrew and Greek, and not from the Breton. It is equally certain that during the reign of Henry VIII. there were few enough in Wales to care for the doctrines of the Reformation, and that, at that time, no Welsh version even appeared.

No one seems to have seen or known of a Breton Bible, published in London, in that century, or indeed at any other time.

The references of M. de la Villemarqué are such, in general, that we cannot verify them, so as to see whether they are rightly applied; but that to the Myvyrian Archæology is within our reach. We give the passage so that it may be seen to what it really refers. The Welsh bard and antiquary Iolo Morganwg, says:—

"On the Reformation, the Welsh expressed a wish to have a Bible in their own language; and in 1563,<sup>f</sup> an Act of Parliament enacted that before the first of March, 1566, (little more than two years,) the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments

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<sup>d</sup> "Giles de Kerampuil, *ibidem*."

<sup>e</sup> "Dictionnaire Breton-celtique, préface, page 9."

<sup>f</sup> 5 Elizabeth, c. 28.



should be translated, printed, and ready for use in the churches of Wales. But towards effecting this, not a single farthing was allowed by Parliament, or any otherwise by Government. The Bible was translated—and well translated,—was printed, and brought into use, but not at the expense of Government, which had given profuse encouragements to the English translators of it. They were a few pious and patriotic individuals who did the Welsh this great service: their names are known, and will, with high veneration, be known, as long as the Welsh language lives; which will be, we presume, as long as the island of Britain exists. *Why Welsh Bibles were taken out of churches and burnt, as we have it recorded*, and English ones ordered to be used in the room of them, cannot now be well known; we trust that however hostile the politics of this country<sup>s</sup> were once towards our language, they have so far ceased to be so as to become absolutely indifferent about the matter.”

Here then we have definite chronological ground on which to rest. The Act of Parliament requiring a Welsh version to be made was passed in 1563. In 1567 William Salesbury's version of the New Testament appeared; but it was not until 1588 that a translation of the whole Bible was printed, the work of Dr. William Morgan, subsequently in 1595 Bishop of Llandaff, and in 1601, of St. Asaph. Henry VIII. has enough to answer for, without his being charged with burning Welsh Bibles, which did not even exist in his time: even in the reign of Edward VI. only a few passages had appeared in that tongue. The actual burning, respecting which M. de la Villemarqué refers to the Myvyrian Archæology, seems to have been part of the actings of those who, after the accession of the Stuarts, shewed their adherence to the new dynasty by everything which would cast discredit on the house of Tudor, and on the country from which they sprang. No attempt was made to supply the want in Wales until the successor of Dr. Morgan in the see of St. Asaph, Dr. Richard Parry, published his revision in 1620, which is the version still read in the Principality.

It appears to be hopeless to search for a Breton Bible printed in London in the reign of Henry VIII. If the Duchess Anne

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<sup>s</sup> i.e., England, where Iolo Morganwg was then writing.

did cause such a version to be made, it must have been preserved in manuscript only, and in this form Grégoire of Rostrenan must have seen it, if he saw it at all; unless the portions of Scripture found in Breton books of Roman Catholic devotion had been mistaken for a translation of the whole Bible.

Fifty-two years before the issue of a printed Breton Bible, the first suggestion was made to the British and Foreign Bible Society that such an undertaking would be for them a worthy object. A few months after the renewal of intercourse of this country with France in 1814, M. de St. Martin, Secretary to the French Society of Antiquaries, made a proposition to the Bible Society to print such a work; he states that the whole of the sacred writings had as yet never been printed in the Breton language; that the portions or extracts printed in that tongue had become so scarce that it was hardly possible for the Bretons, "who do not know the French language, to receive instruction in the truths of the Christian religion." He adds, "There are several complete versions of the Breton Bible extant in manuscript;" and then he mentions M. Le Gonidec as a competent scholar to undertake the editorship. The next sentence is worthy of transcription, as shewing what was the religious condition of France at that time. "It is worthy of a society like yours to undertake a work so useful to religion, and which certainly would not find a single protector in France, where, for a long time, anything in which religion is concerned has been entirely neglected."

The Committee of the Bible Society, in consequence of this application, determined that further information should be requested. The matter then appears to have dropped. The events of 1815 did not promote co-operation between France and England. The second restoration of the Bourbons was not favourable to the circulation of Holy Scripture; and if accurate inquiry had been made, it would in all probability have been found that the "several complete versions of the Breton Bible extant in manuscript" were but a mirage before the eyes of the French antiquaries; and that the same result as to fact would have been arrived at as was, ten years later, by the Rev. Dr. David Jones. "After a diligent search of all the libraries, he was

satisfied that no such translation had ever been made beyond the portions found in the Romish books of devotion.”<sup>1</sup>

For awhile the subject dropped, but it was yet to be taken up in good earnest by one who truly felt its importance, and who never lost sight of it and of other labours for the spiritual well being of Brittany and the Bretons.

Carnhuanawc, (to speak of the Rev. Thomas Price, of Crickhowel, and late vicar of Cwm Dû, in the county of Brecon, by his literary name<sup>2</sup>), who during the long war had met with several Breton prisoners, and had become interested in them and in their language, made in 1819 a renewed proposal to the Bible Society, without at all knowing that the subject had been brought before them previously. In his letter Carnhuanawc says that he had been struck with a passage in the *Horæ Britannicæ* of the Rev. John Hughes of Brecon, just published, in which he said, “The Bretons of France have not so much as the New Testament in their ancient tongue. There appears to be no one likely to undertake such a work, unless some Welshman engage in it, and thus make some return, after the lapse of numerous ages, for the labours of Garmon [Germanus] and his associates,

<sup>1</sup> Rev. Thomas Phillips, agent of the British and Foreign Bible Society, in Sir Thomas Phillips's *Wales*, page 571.

<sup>2</sup> No apology is needed for this. The frequency in Wales of the same name causes such literary appellations to be almost needful. The practice began before surnames were common, and it was perpetuated amongst the bards—thus, Edward Williams was known as Iolo Morganwg (Edward of Glamorgan), by which name we have already quoted from him. Such designations are now assumed by almost every literary pretender in Wales, so that their distinctive value is obscured.

There have been many Thomas Prices, but only one Carnhuanawc, a name which, twenty years ago, stirred a glow of enthusiasm from Holyhead to the Usk. “By it (the name of *Carnhuanawc*) he soon became known as an object of respect and love, and national pride, throughout the length and breadth of the Principality; in London, in Liverpool, and in every part of the United Kingdom where Welsh congregations existed, and in the Welsh Colonies beyond the Atlantic; while the Celtic population of Brittany recognized under that designation a friend, a brother, and a benefactor.”—*The Literary Remains of the Rev. Thomas Price, Carnhuanawc, Vicar of Cwm Dû, Breconshire, and Rural Dean: with a Memoir of his Life*, by Jane Williams, Ysgafell. Llandovery, 1855. vol. ii., page 83. To chapter xi. of the same vol., p. 147—179, “The Translation of the Scriptures into the Breton Language,” we make many allusions which it is not needful to specify one by one.

in our island, in the fourth and fifth centuries." To carry out such a work Carnhuanawc offered his services, and although they were not accepted, still to this object he continued to consecrate his energies.

In the early part of 1824 Carnhuanawc carried on a correspondence with several in Wales on the subject of raising funds so as to aid the translating and publishing of the Scriptures in Breton. On St. David's day, in that year, he preached the anniversary sermon before the Brecon Welsh Literary Society (*Cymreigyddion*), and the occasion was used not only for setting forth the wants of Brittany, but also for raising the *first subscription* in aid of a Breton Bible. Some discouraged the scheme "as a hopeless speculation; while the enkindled zeal of others even rivalled his own." A clerical friend wrote to him on the day of that collection, knowing how it would be employed, and after speaking of the desirableness of bringing the subject well before the Bible Societies in Wales, and the *Cymreigyddion* in London, as well as in the Principality, he says, "Perseverance and prayer will overcome mountains of difficulties; may they do so in this case."

Throughout all Wales the exertions of Carnhuanawc aroused "feelings of lively sympathy for the wants of their brethren in Brittany." But indeed few men have equalled Carnhuanawc in exciting enthusiasm on subjects as to which he was himself enthusiastic.

The minutes of the sub-committee of the British and Foreign Bible Society, July 12, 1824, shewed that the appeals had not been in vain. Attention was at length directed to the letter of Carnhuanawc, of 1819, which was then read. Meanwhile the Rev. Dr. David Jones (classical tutor of Cheshunt College, and Secretary of the Swansea Auxiliary Bible Society) having gone abroad for the benefit of his health, visited Brittany; and when no Breton version could be found in any library, he was authorized to arrange with LE GONIDEC, that he should undertake the making of such a translation of the New Testament. We have already mentioned that, in 1814, the secretary of the French Society of Antiquaries had proposed Le Gonidec as one

sued to *edit* a Breton Bible, on the supposition then entertained that such a translation existed in MS.

We must now turn our attention to Le Gonidec, and to his history up to the time of his undertaking the Breton New Testament.

Jean-François-Marie-Maurice-Agathe Le Gonidec was born at Conquet, the most westerly town of Brittany, Sept. 4, 1775. His father was one of a family of more distinction, on the ground of antiquity and connections, than on that of wealth<sup>j</sup> or of social position at the time of his birth. His mother, Anne-Françoise (née Pohon) belonged to a family of his birth-place. Le Gonidec was intended for an ecclesiastical career, and thus probably he received more educational training than many of the impoverished noblesse of Brittany. The disturbances of the revolutionary period broke up the studies of the College at Tréguier; and subsequently, Le Gonidec was arrested, and after an imprisonment at Carhaix, in 1793, he was sentenced at Brest to the guillotine. From this destruction he was remarkably saved; for, at the moment when he was at the foot of the scaffold, an émeute (got up, it was said, by his friends) delivered him from the soldiers; he took refuge in the house of a violent republican, whose wife concealed him, until in the night he effected his escape from Brest. Thence, after varied adventures, he crossed from a port of Léon (the north-western corner of Brittany) to Penzance in Cornwall. A lady had been expecting a French emigré of the same name (a relation of his), and in consequence, to his surprise, her servant took him to her house; though this introduction commenced through a mistake, this stranger youth continued her guest for nearly a year. In this manner there was a kind of renewal of the old intercourse between Cornwall and Brittany, regions inhabited by kindred branches of the

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<sup>j</sup> In this respect Brittany has been like Cornwall, as old Carew says:—"The most Cornish gentlemen can better vaunt of their pedigree than their livelyhood; for *that* they derive from great antiquitie (and I make question whether any shire in England, of but equal quantitie, can muster a like number of faire coate-armours), whereas *this* declineth to the meane."—*Survey of Cornwall*, 1st ed. 1602, fol. 64.

Celto-Cymric stock. For some years Le Gonidec was closely connected with the Royalist movements in the west of France, especially with the unhappy Quiberon expedition in 1795; in the catastrophe of which he was not involved, having landed at Sarzène, near Vannes, whence he was able to escape into Lower Brittany. He afterwards served in the "Catholic and Royal army," under the Marquis de la Boissière, in which he rose to the rank of lieutenant-colonel.

After the establishment of the government of Napoleon as Premier-Consul, Le Gonidec, with others, made his submission at Brest in 1800. For a few years more he found, in the unquiet state of his native province, that it was needful to remain in concealment.

These ten years of his life had not been in vain; his escape to Cornwall had introduced him to another branch of the Cymric stock and its antiquities; and his sojourn in Britain was at the time when Welsh scholars were enthusiastically beginning to bring to light their own ancient literary monuments. His fugitive life in Brittany had kept him in close connection with those who used his native language; and not only was the desire awakened to do for it what Welsh scholars were doing for theirs, but his reflective mind was kept occupied with its grammatical formation, and with laying the foundation for his subsequent labours.

In 1804 he obtained a civil employment with a salary of 1200 francs (£48) a year; and in 1805, on the formation of the Celtic Academy, a step in which the celebrated Breton, La Tour d'Auvergne, took a leading part, Le Gonidec was one of its vice-presidents. In 1807 his Breton grammar appeared; and, subsequently, during many years, such leisure as he could obtain was devoted to his two dictionaries, the one Breton and French, which first appeared at Angoulême in 1821; the other, French and Breton, which was published posthumously in 1847, under the care of M. le Vicomte Hersart de la Villemarqué, who also re-edited in 1850, with various additions, the former Dictionary, together with the Breton Grammar.

This then was the Breton scholar with whom the Bible Society, through Dr. David Jones, entered into arrangements

for the carrying out of the proposal of Carnhuanawc, for the preparation of a Breton version of the New Testament.\*

For the next three years the translation and then the printing of the Breton New Testament was carried on. Before publication, the sheets were sent for examination to Dr. Jones, and, from the time of his death, to Carnhuanawc. The translation was made from the Latin Vulgate; since the original languages were not accessible to Le Gonidec.

Of course Le Gonidec, who had done so much to purify the Breton tongue, endeavoured to make his translation, as far as possible, in conformity with his own standard of the best form of the language. The four cantons of Lower Brittany have been mentioned as those of Tréguier, Léon, Cornouailles, and Vannes. Each of these possesses a dialect more or less marked by differences; the three former of these, however, are closely allied, when compared with the dialect of Vannes. If we turn historically to the peopling of large portions of Armorica through the emigration from this island from the fifth to the seventh century, we find that these settlers pretty thoroughly occupied all Lower Brittany, except the Bishopric of Vannes. All the other bishoprics of Lower Brittany we find connected with the British emigration; in some parts they brought with them the names of the regions from whence they had come; for instance, from Dyvnaint, or Dumnonia, came the name of Domnonée (the

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\* Repeatedly has the inquiry been made, why will not the Welsh translation of the Scriptures also suffice for the Bretons? For the same reason that George Primrose, in the *Vicar of Wakefield*, could not teach the Dutchmen Greek, unless he himself had first learned Dutch. Closely allied as are the Dutch and English languages, they are not identical; and a knowledge of one will not suffice for holding intercourse with those who use the other. Thus though Breton and Welsh are cognate branches of the Cymric family of the Celtic, they are not identical; and (whatever may have been said to the contrary) conversation between a Welshman and a Breton, each using his own tongue, is impossible. The Breton and the old Cornish were probably mutually intelligible, as much so as the Breton of Léon and that of Gwened (Morbihan) are now.

Between the years 1859 and 1864, almost all the remains of the ancient Cornish literature were edited by Mr. Edwin Norris and Mr. Whitley Stokes; and in 1865 the Rev. Robert Williams, of Rhyd-y-Croesau, completed his Dictionary of the ancient language of Cornwall.

Breton Devon) answering mostly to the department of the Côtes du Nord. Hence it has been inferred, not unreasonably, that in Vannes there is a relic of the ancient Gaulish tongue, while the language of the rest of Lower Brittany is that which the immigrants brought from our island. Its connection with the extinct Cornish is very close, far more so than was the Cornish with the Welsh.

Le Gonidec considered that the dialect of Léon, his own native district, was the purest form of Breton; and he therefore had made it the standard in his grammar and dictionaries; and he thus used it, by no means rejecting its archaisms, in his New Testament.

In the course of the year 1827, the printing was completed at Angoulême, where Le Gonidec held at that time a government appointment. The edition consisted of 1,000 copies, which, in the spring of 1828, were deposited in the Bible Society's warehouse at Paris. Soon after this they must have been in circulation; and we find it stated that Wales absorbed almost the whole of that edition; no doubt this was caused by the interest which had been felt in the Principality in connection with the work, and as a matter of literary study; but they could but little have supposed that they were almost exhausting the fountain of truth, which they had been so earnest to open for those of a kindred race.

Many were the reasons assigned for the want of the circulation of this version in Brittany; one which has been often repeated is, that Le Gonidec introduced so new a system of orthography, that his work was unintelligible. It is true that he had done much to render the Breton orthography uniform and systematic; and in this he trod in the steps of Le Pelletier, who, in 1752, had made the attempt in his Dictionary. Le Gonidec went further, and in many respects more successfully, so as to reject the French orthography without uniformity and without system, which had been imposed upon it by modern writers. He restored to their proper places the *k* and *w*, which belong to the language; and thus he reverted to the older and simpler spelling of words. In fact, if he had taken for his model the ancient Cornish vocabulary of the ninth century, (of



which there is a transcript in the Cotton Library in the British Museum), he could scarcely have done more to adopt the same system. Those who compare the Breton orthography of Le Gonidec, with the attempts of Dr. William Owen Pughe to alter the Welsh alphabet, and cacophonously to change the spelling and pronunciation of words, shew that they do not accurately know the facts of the case which they are discussing. In some respects Le Gonidec may have systematized too much ; but there are few things in Breton which we have seen (except some books of Roman Catholic devotion) in which the influence of the orthography of Le Gonidec was not visible throughout. A strong Romish party in Brittany have attempted to stigmatize Le Gonidec as a heretic, and it is probable that any one who translated the Scriptures would be so in *their* eyes : and they have even gone so far as to particularize the differences of his orthography from that of certain devotional books, as if the letters *k* and *w* indicated *heresy*. In order to refute such charges, the editors of Le Gonidec's Bible have printed a letter of his, dated December 22, 1827, addressed to the members of the British and Foreign Bible Society. This letter has an interest quite irrespective of the *object* for which the editors have brought it forward ; for it shews that on the completion of the Breton New Testament in 1827, the Society objected to reprint it unless the Romish renderings, which teach the doctrine of *penance*, and other things of the kind, were accurately corrected. It was from the Latin Vulgate that Le Gonidec translated ; and it might have been known that the inaccuracies of the modern copies of that version, sanctioned by Pope Clement VIII., are such as to need correction. Le Gonidec defends his translation on theological grounds, and as wishing, as far as possible, to obtain the approval of the Bishops of Brittany ; he points out, however, that, if needful, his version might be easily reformed in such particulars ; if another meaning than *penance*, however, were assigned to the Latin *pœnitentia*, he stipulated that it should be avowedly not *his* act. Thus, forty years ago, the Bible Society objected to the Romish renderings. It may be right here to mention that *to do penance* (with the definition given to penance by the Council of Trent, as something different

from penitence, or repentance), is not the meaning of the Latin *agere pœnitentiam*; a sufficient proof of this is given in the Vulgate of Jeremiah xviii. 8: "Si pœnitentiam egerit gens illa a malo suo quod locutus sum adversus eam, ago et ego pœnitentiam super malo quod cogitavi ut facerem ei;" where, of course, it is impossible to conceive the Lord as *doing penance*, and thus the Roman Catholic versions correctly render the latter clause as speaking of repentance and not penance. In some languages the word used to render *μετάνοια* and its cognates is the same as that adopted for the so called "sacrament of penance;" and translators have been incorrectly supposed to sanction the Romish renderings, who really only used the term employed before the Council of Trent had put forth its definitions. It is most important *now* not to use words which would lead to incorrect notions.

Le Gonidec mentions, in this letter, that he had laid his manuscript before the Bishop of Quimper; "That prelate acknowledged that my work has the merit of exactitude for doctrine, and the narrative of facts; and he only refused me his approbation, because there are, according to him, more inconveniences than advantages in putting the translation of the Holy Scriptures into the hands of the people."

Le Gonidec, after discussing the kind of corrections which he would like to introduce in a second edition, mentions a list of those which he considered to be of primary importance. He then says, that when his work should be submitted to the criticism of his Breton compatriots, "not one in a thousand would be able to clear it from so many inaccuracies as our learned Welsh ecclesiastic has done. This is an act of justice which I am able to render to the respectable Mr. Price." Hence it appears that these corrections are really those of Carnhuanawc; and this is confirmed by the manner in which the editors of the Bible speak of them as going no further than to the Acts of the Apostles; thus they are probably selected from a copy of a book, in manuscript, found amongst the papers of Carnhuanawc, which is thus described by his biographer: "A small quarto volume, inscribed 'February 26, 1827,' contains Mr. Price's criticisms, written during the progress of his examination

and collation of the Breton translation, made by M. Le Gonidec, of the New Testament. They begin with the first chapter of the Gospel according to St. Matthew, and go regularly on to the end of the Acts of the Apostles." The corrections, as approved by Le Gonidec, have not been lost, but they are introduced into the new edition marked (G), as the work of Le Gonidec. We think that if M. Troude, the editor, who took the responsibility of this part of the work, had read Le Gonidec's letter with more attention, he would have seen that he ascribes them "*aux profondes connaissances du respectable M. Price.*"

After Le Gonidec had thus completed his Breton New Testament, he carried on his version of the Old. This occupied him during the eight following years. But in this he met with considerable difficulties from having so often to do with terms and objects so entirely different from those which are in common use. He found that it was needful for him to have the use of the Latin and Welsh Dictionary by Dr. Davies, of Mallwyd (of the former half of the seventeenth century), of which he sought a copy in vain in Paris. The book is not common even in Wales; but Carnhuanawc obtained the loan of one from a gentleman named Bevan; and in the summer of 1829 he visited Brittany, making his own observations on the people, the country, and the language; and then continued his journey as far as Angoulême, where Le Gonidec still resided. In this visit Carnhuanawc reunited some of the long severed links of the continental and the insular Cymry. From this time there was a frequent correspondence between Le Gonidec and his Welsh friend, who revised portions of the manuscript as they were transmitted by the translator.

Before the completion of this undertaking, Le Gonidec had been placed under superannuation in the civil department in which he was employed. But instead of receiving the retiring pension, after thirty years of service, of 1450 francs (£58), he was only allowed 800 francs (£32), probably through the same reductions in the civil service which had before led to the diminution of his salary. From the Bible Society, as it appears by their letter of July 27, 1835, he "received, by agreement,

for the whole translation 7,200<sup>1</sup> francs (£300),” and “on its completion, the committee voted him further, as a gratuity, £25.” Truly thankful was Le Gonidec for this acknowledgment of his work of *ten* years: he said, “La Société Biblique a rempli tous ses engagements vis-a-vis de moi de la manière la plus gracieuse,” and he only further asked to be employed for some small remuneration in getting the Old Testament printed. For he found himself, at the age of sixty, without employment, and possessed only of the small retiring allowance which had been accorded to him. He solicited from the French minister a place in one of the libraries of Paris; he says, “Le ministre reconnaît mes droits, me promet beaucoup et ne m’accorde rien.”

But not only was it not to be that Le Gonidec should be himself employed in the publication of the translation of the Breton Old Testament; but the manuscript, of which one copy was in the possession of the Bible Society, and another in his own (and subsequently in that of his family), was to remain for thirty-one years in obscurity, and not see the light until the translator’s course had been ended for twenty-eight years. Le Gonidec found employment for his later days in Paris, in the “Administration des Assurances Générales,” which seems to have been a kind of Breton colony. To this uncongenial occupation he devoted eight hours daily. After an illness of five months he died, October 12, 1838. His remains were at first deposited in the cemetery of Montmartre, but the feeling was strong in Brittany,

“Let not, let not in foreign earth  
His patriot dust consume,”

and thus a resting place and a monument were prepared at Lochrist, near Conquet, his birthplace, in the cemetery overlooking the Atlantic; there, on the seventh anniversary of his death, was Le Gonidec laid, in the presence of representatives of Wales and Brittany. Sir Anthony Perrier, the British consul at Brest, was on this occasion requested to act as the delegate of the Welsh in the address which he delivered, “in testimony of their esteem and friendship for their brother of Armorica.” The monument thus erected and the whole expense was met by

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<sup>1</sup> This is evidently wrongly printed or copied; it should be 7,500.

subscriptions raised in Wales and Brittany; in the former of which lands he was honoured for his literary and Biblical labours in the Breton tongue. In the following year this monument was thrown down by lightning; and, subsequently, it was restored by the Welsh, as is recorded by the French inscription on the back of the pedestal.

In accordance with the wish of the French committee, the inscription on the principal front of the pedestal is now in the *Welsh* language, that in Breton occupying one of the sides. The Welsh inscription was written by the Rev. John Jenkins, of Morlaix (of whose Breton labours we shall have to speak presently); he has used for the name the genuine Breton form AR GONIDEC;\* and, in general, the words are so selected as to be easily comprehended by an intelligent Breton reader. This inscription in the Cymric tongue, on the monument of Kersanton stone, looking right over the Atlantic on the west-most side of Brittany, is an interesting record of the sympathy in Wales in the work of the Breton version of the Scriptures, and the incitement to that work proceeding from the principality.

In the year 1834 the Welsh Baptists determined on commencing a mission to their Cymric brethren in Armorica; the Rev. John Jenkins, a native of Glamorgan, was the person appointed to this work; and Carnhuanawc had the satisfaction of seeing him before his departure, and of giving him such information as he could in connection with the acquirement of the Breton tongue, and as to his operations as a missionary. Mr. Jenkins settled at Morlaix, where he has a chapel in which the Gospel is preached regularly in French and Breton; and where an efficient Sunday school is carried on in everything except the language like those in Wales, where these institutions are so successful in giving to the young an acquaintance with the Word of God.

The settlement of Mr. Jenkins in Brittany was of no small importance in the history of the translation of the New Testament. From there being no *demand* for the Scriptures, and from the effectual opposition of Roman Catholic priests, that

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\* Several Breton surnames are Frenchified by changing at the beginning the Breton article into the French.

portion of the edition of 1827 which had not found its way to Wales, still remained in the Bible Society's warehouse; when the Welsh Mission commenced, an attempt was naturally made to employ it, but it was found to be in several respects unsuited for general use in Brittany. The language was too pure for the Breton reader, and something was needed more in the rustic style of their devotional books. Mr. Jenkins at length with the assistance of "M. Ricou, a competent native Breton,"\* revised and remodelled the translation, so as to fit it for general use. It was at the earnest entreaty of the Welsh Missionaries that the British and Foreign Bible Society engaged in this, the expense of which was of course considerable. It appeared in 1847, twenty years after Le Gonidec's own version had issued from the press. Le Gonidec had by no means thought that his work would be final; he was aware that he had laboured under many disadvantages; he said in 1827:—"Si l'on réfléchit que je me suis trouvé absolument seul, à plus de cent lieues de la Bretagne, que j'ai quittée moi-même depuis vingt-quatre ans, on aura quelque indulgence pour moi." . . . "Quelque jour peut être, Dieu inspirera quelque Breton plus en position que moi de bien faire, et l'on verra une meilleure traduction du Nouveau Testament. Mais je ne serais plus pour m'en réjouir."

But although Le Gonidec did not live to see the work accomplished, the labours of Mr. Jenkins which led to its being done, commenced in Brittany four years before his death.

In Mr. Jenkins's revision of the New Testament, the important step was taken of getting rid of those inaccurate renderings which give a seeming sanction to the doctrines and practices of the Church of Rome. Many may well feel a difficulty in using as Scripture that which teaches repeatedly the doctrine of penance, and contains such statements as that Jacob adored the top of the rod.<sup>o</sup> These are not things indifferent, and it is those who have most to do with Roman Catholics who feel them

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\* Memoir, page 372.

• The change in the Vulgate in Genesis iii. 15, where the feminine *ipsa conteret* stands instead of the masculine, has been a main pillar of Mariolatry. The authorities at Rome now, so far from defending this reading, only seek to shew that it did not originate in an intentional corruption (see Vercellone's *Variae Lectiones*, in loc.). But the point has been gained by the false reading;

the most. In vain is the attempt made to conciliate Romanists by the compromise of truth.

In 1842, the Welsh Calvinistic Methodists<sup>p</sup> commenced a mission in the southern part of Brittany, whither they sent the Rev. James Williams, a native of Caermarthenshire, who from that time has laboured at Quimper. He and the Rev. John Jenkins are the only missionaries to the Bretons. Thus the revised New Testament has been circulated—a work the beginning of which Carnhuanawc lived to see. After its publication in 1847, he commenced a comparison of the original version by Le Gonidec with its revision by Mr. Jenkins, and on this he was occupied at the time of his death in the following year.

On the 11th and 12th of October, 1848, was held the Eisteddfod, at Abergavenny, in which he took a part. It was on this occasion that the Welsh inscription drawn up by the Rev. John Jenkins was selected as the most appropriate for the monument of Le Gonidec.

On the following 7th of November, Carnhuanawc had made an appointment with a mason to visit a quarry to select stones for a tomb (which he mentioned privately was meant for his own), but on that day he was prevented by visitors, who found him very unwell; in the afternoon he had a seizure which proved fatal the same evening. He died in his 61st year, having laboured with energy and enthusiasm for the spiritual, moral, and intellectual benefit of his Welsh countrymen, and their Breton brethren. “Wherever Carnhuanawc was personally known, the unity of

and the doctrine that the Virgin Mary is the bruise of the serpent's head having been once established, it is perpetuated by every Romish version which diffuses the false rendering.

<sup>p</sup> This body is now not unfrequently designated *Welsh Presbyterians*; this sufficiently explains its *present* ecclesiastical position and general organization, but it almost contradicts its *history*; for this, the most numerous and important body in Wales, arose without having any feeling in opposition to episcopacy. Originally they were known as Welsh Methodists, but as they held the doctrines of grace as maintained by the Reformers, they assumed the distinctive appellation of “Calvinistic,” as shewing that they were not Arminian. For more than seventy years, they allowed no one to baptize or administer the Lord's Supper, without his having received episcopal ordination; but from the small number of clergymen continuing among them, this was broken through in 1811; and thus the successors of Daniel Rowlands, Howel Harris, and William Williams of Pant-y-celyn, became unwillingly seceders.

Christian faith, and hope, and love, had levelled the dividing boundaries of sectarianism."

It had been a matter of deep regret to Carnhuanawc that he did not prevail on the Bible Society to publish the Breton Old Testament—in furtherance of which he had done so much—as well as the New. But in this he, as well as Le Gonidec, had laboured for posterity. He did live to see missionary labour established in Brittany, the New Testament effectually revised by Mr. Jenkins, many copies circulated through colportage, and tracts not a few, which truly set forth the Gospel of Christ, printed and circulated in the Breton tongue. Since then the New Testament has been printed more than once; in 1866 in a small form, and in the same year appeared the Gospel of St. Luke and the Acts, separately, very convenient for circulation. At present, Bretons each summer visit the south-western ports of England, and those of South Wales, and on their behalf it is hoped that some efforts will locally be made.

Many in Brittany had long wished to possess the whole Bible of Le Gonidec; and in 1866, M. Prud'homme, publisher at St. Brieuc, brought it out under the editorship of Colonel Troude and M. Milin; the care of the former was directed to that which was literary, that of the latter to that which is theological. The alterations or corrections made by each are marked with their respective initials, which do not very frequently appear.

The merits and defects of the Old Testament, seem to be much the same as those of the New. The language is equally elevated above that which is the ordinary colloquial speech of the Bretons; it may be, when education is more diffused in Lower Brittany, the phraseology of Le Gonidec will be felt to be more adapted to the people than it is now; to any who have *learned* Breton, we believe that the idiom of Le Gonidec is found to have a neatness and clearness rarely found in those things which are intended for the use of those who only know the colloquial language. We may be allowed to hazard an opinion, that the revision of Le Gonidec's version of the New Testament goes *too far*, in the substitution of Bretonized French words for those that are genuine Breton, which a small measure of education would make perfectly intelligible.



As this translation was made from the Latin Vulgate, it is so far an imperfect representative of the original, and of course the defects of the modern copies of that version are reproduced. It contains, as may be supposed, that portion of the Apocrypha which was declared Canonical by the Council of Trent.

So far as we can judge, the editors have performed their work well. It is a satisfaction to the Bretons that the Bible of their Le Gonidec is published, and that too in the life of one surviving son, M. Robert Le Gonidec, who is exceedingly desirous that his father's work may be properly circulated: we fear that the size and price (28 francs) will be a considerable hindrance to this. The French introduction to the first volume contains a good deal of curious information, including some biographical notice of Le Gonidec.

The Rev. James Williams, the Calvinistic Methodist missionary at Quimper, has given in his little work, *La Basse-Bretagne et le Pays de Galles*,<sup>1</sup> a very graphic account of the difficulties thrown in the way of the circulation of the Scriptures in Brittany. It remains to be seen if this will at all be broken down by the appearance of the complete work of Le Gonidec.

In the history of the Breton version of the Scriptures, three points have specially to be noticed—the impulse which at length prevailed in causing it to be undertaken, the work of translation, and the labour which adapted the New Testament to the actual wants of the Bretons. To these belong *three* names, CARNHUANAWC, LE GONIDEC, JOHN JENKINS. There yet remains the work of making the Old Testament as suited to the people as the New. Shall this be the labour of a *fourth*, or shall the *third* of those named—the one survivor—after his thirty-three years of Christian service in Brittany, be the completer of the work?—thus adding to his many claims on the grateful respect of the Breton people.

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<sup>1</sup> *La Basse-Bretagne et le Pays de Galles*. Quelques Paroles simples et véridiques adressées à M. Le Comte Hersart de la Villemarqué (de l'Institut), par J. Williams, pasteur Gallois à Quimper. Paris: Ch. Meyrueis, 1860. Those who can read Breton will find the same subject touched on very simply and clearly in *Eun Dialog etre Per, Marc'hadour Levriou, hag eur beleg*, also by the Rev. James Williams.

**ON RITUALISM.****BY REV. W. KIRKUS, LL.B.**

**VERY** few people will now deny that a great change, amounting almost to a revolution, has, during the last quarter of a century, been passing over the Established Church. I do not mean that the first symptoms, much less the causes of this revolution, are of no older date; but at any rate for five and twenty years, the attention first of the thinking few, and at last of the unthinking many, has been directed to this fact—that there is a large and increasing party in the Established Church, wishing and trying, and at last to a very dangerous extent succeeding in the attempt, to undo the Reformation. The most conspicuous symptom of the existence and success of this party is to be found in an unmistakeable alteration in the rites and ceremonies of the Church of England. Very young men can remember the time when it was almost dangerous for any clergyman, outside a cathedral, to preach a sermon in a surplice. Now, there are very many churches, not only in large cities but even in quiet country parishes, in which an ordinary Protestant would find it impossible to determine from the services themselves, whether he had found his way into a Roman or an Anglican Church. The Holy Roman tongue is indeed still forbidden, and an English clergyman is still compelled to make use of the English language in those Common Prayers which are meant for English men and women. But a priest who is forbidden to make use of an unknown tongue in Divine Service, may so effectually render himself inarticulate, that it becomes absolutely of no importance whatever, what language he may be speaking. In what are called “high” churches no stranger, no educated Englishman, who was not already perfectly familiar with the Book of Common Prayer, would be able so much as to guess what words the clergymen were using.

Moreover these “high” churches are for the most part crowded with worshippers. Not only do idle young women, who may naturally enough be attracted by gay dresses, even though worn only by female men, waste their leisure in foolish

superstitions ; but grown-up men, heads of families, and heads of houses of business, clerks in offices, lawyers, volunteers, all kinds of people, gather together in great crowds to take their part in the new idolatry which some three hundred years ago was cast away as obsolete. The Anglo-Catholics are not afraid even to direct special attention to the fact, that their converts are drawn almost equally from both sexes. Following apparently in this matter, as in many others, the Rubric of the first of the Prayer Books of King Edward VI., they require communicants—and indeed the whole congregation is expected to assist at the Communion—"to tarry, the men on the one side, and the women on the other side." It must be confessed, and it is no mean praise, that these Anglo-Catholics have brought hundreds and thousands of young men and women to care for what they believe to be the worship of Almighty God, who but for them would probably have cared for nothing but dress and pipes. Altar cloths and vestments, incense and vases of flowers, are far enough from religion ; but they are at any rate less dangerous and less disgusting than slander or spittoons.

The change, however, that has come over the English Church is of the very gravest importance—indeed it is quite impossible to overestimate its importance. It really amounts to something like this,—an affirmative reply to the question soberly asked, not in mockery but with the expectation of a sensible answer: Is England to become like Spain? Is the State to become subordinate to the Church? Are priests to have more power over married women than their own husbands, and over children than their own parents? Is healthy British morality to be changed for the casuistry of the Confessional? Is that liberty "to know, to utter, and to argue freely," which has for something like three centuries been the foundation of everything great in England, to be thrown away ; and instead of it are we to take time and eternity, hell and heaven, devil and God, just as the priest thinks fit to give them to us?

It surely must be worth while to enquire into the causes of this great revolution, this return to the beggarly elements, the Christianized paganism of the unreformed Church of England. It is obvious enough of course, that there is a certain class of

people—not very numerous, and on the other hand very frivolous—who prefer ceremonies for their own sake. They care nothing about symbolism, because they rest in the sign and never go beyond it. There are young curates, fresh from the mystic fingers of the ordaining bishop, who would find some unaccountable enjoyment in dressing themselves up in all the ecclesiastical finery, and “celebrating” the Eucharist even in their own bedrooms. The education of the clergy in this country can scarcely fail to make them either heretics or women—old women or young women, as the case may be. Vicars and rectors, when they are not actively or passively heretics, are old women; and many “Catholic” curates are young women. They think just as much as any other silly girls do, about a sweet thing in satins or lace; and male girls dress up for mass, just as female girls dress up for a ball. The chancel of a large church is often much more spacious, considering the performances that are necessary, than the stage of a small theatre; and priests and deacons, epistolers and gospellers, surpliced men and boys, banners and crosses, and flowers, and the half-transparent mist of fragrant incense, all these may be grouped together so artistically that they may almost rival the transformation scene at a pantomime. Very many, even in the Puritan sects, prefer a gown because “it looks nice,” and in like manner a certain portion of our modern Ritualists—just big enough and heavy enough to increase the momentum of the whole moving mass—are Ritualists, because the vestments merely, and the decorations, and the incense, and the whole affair are uncommonly “nice.”

Of course these frivolous empty-headed nobodies are of exceedingly small importance. They are the genuine *causes* of no true movement, and they never can be depended upon. They are the sort of people of whom it would scarcely be using too bold a metaphor to say, that they never can be saved excepting by being damned. Their religion is relatively if not absolutely worse than their irreligion. They are just as insincere at church as they are in a drawing room; only in a church they are mocking God, and in a drawing room they are only mocking Mrs. Grundy. They never will know what they are, until they are stripped stark naked of every pious conventionalism, and

brought face to face with the roughest realities of common conscience. The vagaries of these people, may happen to strengthen for a while any cause whatever,—like the votes of Irish Americans—but they are the true citizens of no state.

There is, however, another cause of that revolution in the English Church which is now attracting so much attention, which though unquestionably of far more importance than the love of finery, ecclesiastical or otherwise, is nevertheless rather negative than positive. I mean the fact that a large proportion, if not a majority of the clergy, have no special claim whatever upon the respect of the laity, excepting their official claim. In other words, they obtain the special respect they receive as clergymen, but not as men. They are not immoral, for it may quite safely be taken for granted that in this respect a clergyman is above suspicion. Doubtless many clergymen still hunt, and so far, may be called “hunting parsons;” but the extreme puritanism that can object to a hunt is nearly dead, and Christianity is perhaps none the worse for being muscular. Even among dissenters, what used to be called worldliness is now judged, as St. Paul would have us judge all such matters; and so long as a man has a clear conscience and a good intention—“let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind.”

I am very far from meaning that the clergy are regarded with a positive disrespect. When they are not women—that is to say, when they are gentlemen, and have had a good university education, and can hold their own in any society in which they may happen to be placed,—they are no doubt respected, but they are respected as gentlemen and not as clergymen. So far as the duties of a clergyman consist in reading prayers, the great wonder is that so very few can be found capable of discharging them. It is quite as easy to read the Liturgy as to read *The Times* newspaper, and any decently educated charity boy can do that. But what I mean by saying that the majority of the clergy have no claim to respect except their official claim, is this; as gentlemen among gentlemen they would no doubt be more than tolerated, but by virtue of their position as clergymen they are expected to be the leaders and guides not of the most ignorant and worst educated of a parish, but of the least

ignorant and best educated. They are to be able *ex officio*, to answer any questions, to solve difficulties, to give advice, and generally speaking to tell other people what to believe and what to do, or at any rate what not to believe and what not to do. Is the average curate as a mere man—as the Rev. Verdant Green for instance—in the least degree able to do this? It is perfectly notorious that there are many not only undergraduates but ordained priests who know absolutely nothing about those great questions, which are rapidly becoming *the* questions for all earnest educated Englishmen.

There always has been, and until “we all come into the unity of the faith and of the knowledge of the Son of God,” there always will be a sort of rivalry between the prophet and the priest. The work of the prophet is upon men, and the work of the priest is upon God. Certain ceremonies have been regarded as necessary to salvation, and those ceremonies the priest only could perform. No doubt the ceremonies were supposed to have a meaning; but the rites themselves were considered essential, whether they had a meaning or not. It has, in fact, very frequently been considered an advantage that the meaning should be concealed, regarded as a divine mystery, and protected from profanation by solemn secrecy. No doubt when religion has been more than mischievous superstition, whenever it has made any appeal to the intellect or conscience of men, the work of the priest has been greatly modified. He has been compelled more or less to explain and justify his own position as interposing between God and man. If he could not shew the intrinsic worth of those services, which it was his business to perform, he was, at any rate, forced to appeal to some divine authority, some distinct command from heaven, requiring them and appointing him. Even then a merely external religion is so exceedingly mischievous, so sure to demoralize mankind, and to be made the occasion of all sorts of tyranny, that no thinking man will ever believe in the existence of a divine authority for a set of meaningless or unexplained ceremonies. Hence, even among the Jews, whose ritual was regarded as the special gift of God, the priests were in almost every great crisis of the nation’s history on the wrong side. They were always

ready to sanctify by their mystic ceremonies almost every form of evil. Moreover, their whole life being devoted to the performance of rites which in themselves were mere mummery, they were always ready to multiply ceremonies, and to introduce into the national religion whatever foreign ritual might be so gorgeous and so complicated as to enhance their own importance.

The one safeguard of the Jewish people, that which preserved their very religion from becoming an abomination and a curse, was the wisdom and fidelity of *the prophets*. These men also had a divine call; and they spoke with authority and power, because they believed that they were uttering the very truth of God. Their great nobleness and inestimable value are almost concealed from us, because we have too often fixed our attention exclusively upon the smallest part of their teaching and work—their prediction of the events of a distant future. That God is able to bestow upon any man a miraculous foresight will scarcely be denied by any one who believes that God is a Person, a free living Being; but as a matter of interpretation and biblical criticism, it may safely be affirmed that the amount of prediction—the foretelling in detail of future events—is in the Old Testament extremely small. At any rate, the prophets lived and worked for *their own* present, not chiefly for ours: it was their *insight*, far more than their *foresight*, which made them what they were. They were the reformers both of their Church and State, rebuking at once the tyranny of the kings and the godlessness of the priests. Apart from the symbolism of the Jewish ritual, whenever its *meaning* was hidden or denied, the ritual itself was a mockery: it was not only what God did *not* require, but it stood in the way of what God *did* require. Both negatively and positively it was a curse. At the best the sacrifices of the old law were always bordering on fatal delusion, were always in danger of actually inverting the truth concerning God. Nothing was easier than to regard them as the cause, instead of the effect, of the divine charity; as the substitutes, rather than the signs, of the true repentance and responsive love of God's people. To the prophets, therefore, the ritual itself, notwithstanding its divine

origin, was an object of suspicion; it was like the brazen serpent, luring men to a most dangerous, because a most subtle, idolatry. We hesitate to set up in the temple of Jehovah an image that our own hands have made; but we quite easily persuade ourselves that we may laudably worship what God himself gave us to use.

Hence the burning words of the prophets are directed against the *ritual itself*, and not only against the abuses of ritual. Abuses are very often incurable, such as never can be removed. They penetrate the very substance of an institution, till they actually take the place of the institution, displacing it as a heavier gas displaces a lighter; and their separate existence is no longer a present fact, but a curious revelation of obscure history. It is doubtful whether *any part whatever* of the original communion was to be found in the sacrifice of the Mass at the time of the Reformation; and often the Jewish prophets perceived that the ancient sacrifices were actually denying what they had been appointed to affirm.

Thus one of the Psalmists, speaking in the name of the Lord, *refuses*, and almost *forbids*, the sacrifices which God himself had required. "Hear, oh my people; and I will speak, O Israel, and I will testify against thee: I am God, even thy God. I will not reprove thee, for thy sacrifices or thy burnt-offerings to have been continually before me. I will take no bullock out of thy house, nor he-goat out of thy fold. For every beast of the forest is mine, and the cattle upon a thousand hills. I know all the fowls of the mountains: and the wild beasts of the field are mine. If I were hungry, I would not tell thee: for the world is mine, and the fulness thereof. Will I eat the flesh of bulls, or drink the blood of goats? Offer unto God thanksgiving, and pay thy vows unto the Most High. And call upon me in the day of trouble: I will deliver thee, and thou shalt glorify me. . . . Whoso offereth praise glorifieth me; and to him that ordereth his conversation aright will I shew the salvation of God" (Ps. l. 7—15, 23).

Isaiah is even more bold. "Hear the word of the Lord, ye rulers of Sodom. Give ear unto the law of our God, ye people of Gomorrah. To what purpose is the multitude of your sacri-



fices unto me? saith the Lord. I am full of the burnt-offerings of rams, and the fat of fed beasts; and I delight not in the blood of bullocks, or of lambs, or of he-goats. When ye come to appear before me, who hath required this at your hand to tread my courts? Bring no more vain oblations; incense is an abomination unto me; the new moons and sabbaths, the calling of assemblies, I cannot away with, it is iniquity even the solemn meeting. Your new moons and your appointed feasts my soul hateth; they are a trouble unto me; I am weary to bear them. And when ye spread forth your hands, I will 'hide mine eyes from you: yea, when ye make many prayers I will not hear; your hands are full of blood," (Isaiah i. 10—15.)

In a great calamity it is not sacrifices to which Joel calls the people; but true repentance and simple trust in the boundless mercy of God; while Micah gives a solemn warning that the costliest offerings, without goodness, are nothing worth. "Wherewith shall I come before the Lord, and bow myself before the high God? Shall I come before Him with burnt-offerings, with calves of a year old? Will the Lord be pleased with thousands of rams, or with ten thousands of rivers of oil? Shall I give my firstborn for my transgressions, the fruit of my body for the sin of my soul? He hath showed thee, O man, what is good: and what doth the Lord require of thee but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God," (Micah vi. 6—8.)

It is the peculiar benefit of the Christian religion, its special security against corruption, that it has no priesthood, and no sacrifice. It is founded upon the fact that a perfect revelation of God has been, once for all, given to men in the Incarnate Son; and that a perfect sacrifice has been, once for all, in the Incarnate Son, offered to God. The need of propitiating God is, therefore, for ever at an end; and the occupation of the priest is gone. What propitiation there is in Christ is, doubtless, much disputed; and even *His* sacrifice has, over and over again, been paganized. But, at any rate, "it is *finished*." Whatever God wanted Christ gave; whatever man wants Christ lives to bestow. What remains, therefore, to Christianity is *the prophet*—the teacher—to expound the meaning of the old signs,

to bring out of the treasury of the Lord things new and old. No longer even Moses with face veiled ; but " we all with open face, beholding, as in a glass, the glory of the Lord, are changed into the same image."

Unhappily, in returning to Judaism—or rather to heathenism itself—Christianity has made the most fatal of all mistakes. It has not only restored the priest, but it has united priesthood and prophecy *in the same office*. But for the separation, not to say opposition, of these two, Judaism, notwithstanding its divine origin, would have become a debasing superstition ; and Christianity has become a debasing superstition, through centuries of time, and among hundreds of millions of people, by means of their union. For when the two are united the priest will always overmaster the prophet. How can it possibly be otherwise ? The prophetic office needs courage, insight, effort—it has oftener been rewarded with sorrow than with worldly honour—its crown, for the most part, like the Master's, a crown of thorns. The priest's office needs absolutely nothing but human nature, and can be content with very corrupt human nature, too. It needs explain nothing ; it can dispense with all wisdom and insight. And when its only corrective is *itself*, the hope of amendment is obviously at its minimum. Moreover principles which, at the best, can only be applied to bare ceremonies, become applied to teaching and exposition. The priest tells us to do something, without any reason why ; the priest-prophet tells us that it is right and wise and reasonable and necessary to do something—*because it is*.

Now dumb prophets will always be sorely tempted to become prophet-priests. A genuine prophet has God's mark upon him. " Is not the Lord's word like a fire, and like a hammer that breaketh the rock in pieces ?" A mere priest may have man's mark upon him—a shaven crown, for instance, or a long coat—but he might as well be appointed by lot, or by tossing a penny, as by the hands of a bishop. The majority of the English clergy are most unmistakeably *not* prophets ; they cannot teach ; therefore they become prophet-priests. That is what I mean by saying that some of them take to " Ritualism," because the only superiority they can pretend to possess is a

*merely official* superiority. They are esteemed in their high place only as clergymen, not as men.<sup>a</sup>

And yet it must be acknowledged that the Book of Common Prayer itself is most imperfectly reformed. There are some grand phrases in the Prayer Book that might easily enough lead a young man, newly ordained, to imagine himself invested with superhuman powers. Scarcely anything can be more misleading than the "Form and Manner of Ordering of Priests." When the bishop says, "Receive the Holy Ghost for the office and work of a priest in the Church of God now committed unto thee by the imposition of our hands. Whose sins thou dost forgive, they are forgiven; and whose sins thou dost retain, they are retained"—it is not unnatural that the newly-ordained priest should imagine himself the recipient of mystic powers which raise him far above the level of ordinary Christians. He will find this view of what has been done to him strengthened by the fact that he will now be permitted to perform those solemn services which had been forbidden him even as a deacon. He will be permitted to consecrate the bread and wine for the Holy Communion, and to pronounce the absolution of the penitent. And perhaps the reverence with which a newly-ordained minister will regard his own priesthood may often be considered as a sign of that devout earnestness which for the work of the ministry can scarcely ever be in excess.

Indeed, no one will deny that public service, especially in small country churches, was often performed with the most disreputable slovenliness; and that the revival of Ritualism has done very much to lessen, if not to remove, this scandal. It must, however, not be forgotten that this is not the direct, but only an indirect effect of recent innovations. "While," says the Bishop of St. David's,<sup>b</sup> "I would readily admit that which is often urged in defence of the Ritualistic movement, that in many of our churches there is large room for improvement in

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<sup>a</sup> If anybody doubts the fact of the inefficiency as teachers, preachers, prophets, of the Anglican clergy, let him read the reports of Church Congresses, etc., or such books as Mr. Gee's *Our Sermons*, or the advertisements of M.S. sermons for sale.

<sup>b</sup> Charge, at his ninth visitation, October, 1866, page 86.

the prevailing practice of our public worship, I cannot find in this fact anything to justify, or indeed to account for the recent innovations. In the first place the resources of the Prayer Book were very far from exhausted. Experience, as far as it went, tended to shew that a closer observance of its directions, and a fuller use of the means it places at our disposal, without the smallest excess over that which is perfectly legitimate and unquestionably authorized, would commonly suffice to relieve our services from that monotony which has been the subject of complaint . . . . As to ourselves . . . . choral associations have been lately formed in three of our Archdeaconries, whose example will no doubt ere long be followed by the fourth. We have thus ground to hope that the voice of melody will be more frequently heard in our churches to inspirit the strains of praise and thanksgiving, and that the 'psalms and hymns and spiritual songs,' which were meant to be the expression of pious feelings, will not always be made to serve merely as additional lessons."

Thus far then in the mere improvement of the mode of conducting public service, the reforming clergy might have been content to learn a lesson even from the Nonconformists. What was needed to make the public worship in a parish church reverent and inspiriting, was godly earnestness and common sense. If the zeal of Primitive Methodists was sometimes wanting in discretion, if their earnestness was often noisy and disorderly, the Prayer Book itself was certain to counteract the extravagances of holy fervour. But even the most riotous sincerity of earnest Christian men is perhaps more like genuine worship, than the outward posture and most probably the inward frame "of persons listening, respectfully or otherwise, to some devotional utterances which pass between the minister and the clerk."

But the unmistakeable object of recent innovations was to restore not a more *profitable*, but a more *catholic* usage. The ordinary services in what are called the "high" churches are, to many people, even as a matter of taste, exceedingly unpleasant. The Gregorian chants are, to most ears, insufferably dreary;

and the miserable sing-song in which the priests intone the prayers, is to most ordinary worshippers, quite apart from doctrinal considerations, excessively disagreeable. Probably no human being in his senses *sings* his prayers at his own bedside; and apart from some acoustic necessity the singing of prayers in the church seems on the face of it ridiculous. But the object of the Ritualists seems to be to separate religious exercises from common life; and to return almost to that superstition in which words are not to be used as conveying a meaning, but muttered, half articulately, as magic incantations. The Ritualist movement is, again, so obviously a reaction against "scepticism" that even the "evangelical" clergy, though unquestionably Protestant, are sorely perplexed how to deal with that large body who, whatever else they may be, are uncompromising opponents of every form of "rationalism." It is this feeling that keeps men like the Bishop of Gloucester oscillating with hopeless indecision between opposing dangers; forgetting, meanwhile, that in the present state of the Church indecision may be even worse than error—can indeed scarcely fail to be error *on both sides*.

It is becoming more and more obvious that we are drawing near to that issue which, to most thoughtful persons, has long seemed the only issue—Is our religion to be founded on reason or on authority? For a long time Churchmen have been halting between two opinions; and the result was the sort of nescience which Dr. Newman has visited with withering scorn. Even while still in the Anglican Church, hating 'liberalism' as he hated the very devil, he reserved his loathing and contempt for the mass of empty verbiage or suicidal contradictions which, for the majority of the members of the Established Church, took the place of orthodoxy. "In the present day, I said,<sup>d</sup> mistiness is the mother of wisdom. A man who can set down half a dozen general propositions, which escape from destroying one another only by being diluted into truisms; who can hold the balance between opposites so skilfully as to do without fulcrum or beam; who never enunciates a truth without guarding himself against being supposed to exclude the contradictory; who holds that

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<sup>d</sup> *Apologia*, pp. 193, 194.

Scripture is the only authority, yet that the Church is to be deferred to,—that faith only justifies, yet that it does not justify without works,—that grace does not depend on the sacraments, yet is not given without them,—that bishops are a divine ordinance, yet those who have them not are in the same religious condition as those who have,—this is your safe man, and the hope of the Church; this is what the Church is said to want, not party men, but sensible, temperate, sober, well-judging persons, to guide it through the channel of no-meaning, between the Scylla and Charybdis of Aye and No.

“This state of things, however, I said could not last, if men were to read and think. They will not keep standing in that very attitude which you call sound Church of Englandism or orthodox Protestantism. They cannot go on for ever standing on one leg, or sitting without a chair, or walking with their feet tied, or grazing like Tityrus’s stags in the air. They will take one view or another, but it will be a consistent view. It may be Liberalism, or Erastianism, or Popery, or Catholicity; but it will be real.”

So again, “As to Liberalism, we think the formularies of the Church will ever, with the aid of a good Providence, keep it from making any serious inroads upon the clergy. Besides, it is too cold a principle to prevail with the multitude. But as regarded what was called Evangelical Religion or Puritanism, there was more to cause alarm. I observed upon its organization; but, on the other hand, it had no intellectual basis, no internal idea, no principle of unity, no theology. ‘Its adherents,’ I said, ‘are already separating from each other; they will melt away like a snow-drift. It has no straightforward view on any one point on which it professes to teach; and to hide its poverty it has dressed itself out in a maze of words. We have no dread of it at all; we only fear what it may lead to. It does not stand on intrenched ground, or make any pretence to a position; it does but occupy the space between contending powers—Catholic Truth and Rationalism. Then, indeed, will be the stern encounter, when two real and living principles, simple,

entire, and consistent—one in the Church, the other out of it—at length rush upon each other, contending not for names and words, or half views, but for elementary notions and distinctive moral characters.’ ”

The Ritualist party in the English Church have not yet come to see, what Dr. Newman discovered long ago, that their position is almost as inconsistent, and therefore as unsafe, as that of the Evangelicals themselves. Indeed the Evangelicals have a very considerable advantage over the Ritualists in this circumstance, that their inconsistencies are not fatal to evangelical doctrine, whereas even the very slightest inconsistency is instantly and completely fatal to the Anglo-Catholic system. No doubt the evangelicals have a theory of inspiration; and, at any rate, derive, or believe that they derive, every article of their faith from Holy Scripture. But so long as they can keep their doctrines, they are perfectly willing, for strategical purposes, to reserve or hold in abeyance the consideration of the authority upon which they are founded. Besides which, they may be very formidable opponents, even if they have no principles whatever of any sort. A man may surely pull down a wall without being an architect, or even so much as a common bricklayer. And when any party in the Church, or any party out of the Church, asks the Ritualists for the authority of their new book of Leviticus, they have no answer whatever to give. The liturgy of the so-called Irvingites is in many respects far nearer to the ancient English use, and to the Prayer Book of 1549, than the Book of Common Prayer itself; it has a distinct commemoration of the Virgin and saints and all the faithful departed, a very conspicuous doctrine of real presence, and a prayer invoking the descent of the Holy Ghost upon the bread and wine, in order that they may become the body and blood of Jesus Christ. Moreover, these so-called Irvingites are as careful as the Anglo-Catholics themselves about symbolical colours and vestments and the observance of the canonical hours. But none of these Anglican priests would admit for a moment that the “Irvingites” have *authority* for their usages. The Ritualists refer, indeed, to canons and rubrics of the *un-reformed* Church; but who gives them the power to take what

they like, and leave what they do not like? In plain English, however much, or however little, the Church of England differs from the Church of Rome, the *whole* of the *difference* is based upon Rationalism.

Nevertheless, the Ritualists do not see this, and are therefore protesting for the principle of authority; and the Evangelicals do not see it, and are themselves still hostile to rationalism. The crisis has not quite come yet, but it is getting near. The battle between authority and reason must be fought out; and those who try, during that conflict, to walk along the *via media*, will be cut to pieces by the shot of *both* the opposing hosts. But it is a mean return that the Anglo-Catholics make to the Evangelicals. If it had not been for *them* the Tractarians would long ago have been destroyed.

The great cause of the ritualist innovations is the change in the *doctrines* of the clergy of the Established Church. These doctrines, of which rites and ceremonies are merely the expressions and symbols, may or may not have been in the Prayer Book and Homilies for three hundred years; but they certainly were not in the sermons or beliefs of English Establishment clergymen before the late revival. The dogma of apostolical succession, of the dignity of the priesthood, and of the real presence of the body and blood of Christ in the Holy Communion, had become so completely unrealized, that when they were restored they were regarded as sheer novelties. All these dogmas, jointly and severally, are involved in the ritualist revival. I will consider first and chiefly the last—the dogma of the real presence.

Any doctrine whatever of the real presence of Christ *in the consecrated bread and wine* confounds a person with a thing, spirit with not-spirit. The attributes of a living spirit and of baked flour are mutually exclusive, and no mummeries or incantations can combine them. The chemical character and nutritive properties, the weight, the smell, the colour of baked flour, may indeed be referred to the supreme will—and so may everything else. But even as an expression of the divine will a bit of bread can reveal God only within the limits of its own expressiveness. If the whole Divinity, the complete God, is in



a bit of bread, then it would be blasphemy to *deny* that the complete God is infinitely inferior to the meanest living man. At the time of the Reformation it is not wonderful that the only true and rational doctrine of the Eucharist was rejected; because that Reformation was only the beginning of the end, and was determined as much by expediency as by principle, by the wrath of men as by the righteousness of God. But the Anglican doctrine of the sacraments has every evil of the Tridentine doctrine, and none of its consistency.

Not, indeed, that much of what is to be found in the Anglican formularies can be compelled to give evidence in favour of the Ritualists by any process short of torture. At the back of the title-page of the *Directorium Anglicanum* we read: "Let this sacrament be in such wise done and ministered . . . as the good fathers in the primitive Church frequented it," (*Homil.*, b. ii.) Now this advice is by no means unsound, because the primitive Church is very far from being the mediæval Church. There is a kind of critical simplicity about the Ritualists that can scarcely be distinguished from guile. They are, or affect to be, ignorant of the fact that ecclesiastical literature swarms with forgeries, and that there is no more reason to suppose that any one of the apostles composed a liturgy than that Julius Cæsar composed Macaulay's *History of England*. When they talk about the "Liturgy of St. James," they are simply talking nonsense; and it is very difficult to believe that they are not perfectly aware that they are talking nonsense. But, at any rate, it is quite certain that they know perfectly well what is to be found in the *Homilies*; and to put the extract that I have just quoted at the head of the *Directorium Anglicanum* is a piece of barefaced dishonesty. Even the omitted portion of the one sentence is fatal to the use which is made of the quotation. "But before all other things, this we must be sure of especially, that this supper be in such wise done and ministered *as our Lord and Saviour did and commanded to be done, as his holy apostles used it*, and the good fathers in the primitive Church frequented it."<sup>f</sup> There are

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<sup>f</sup> *Homilies*, (Oxford, 1840); p. 396.

many things doubtful in the world, and few things certain; but among those few things, unquestionably this is one—that the supper that Jesus Christ and the apostles frequented was in no such wise done and ministered as the *Directorium Anglicanum* requires. But the dishonesty of the garbled quotation to which I am referring is still more apparent when we consider the rest of what this homily contains. “Our loving Saviour hath ordained and established the remembrance of his great mercy expressed in his passion in the institution of his heavenly supper, where every one of us must be guests, and *not gazers*; eaters, and *not lookers*; *feeding ourselves*, and not hiring others to feed for us; that we may live by our own meat, and not perish for hunger, while others devour all.”<sup>g</sup> “Neither can he be devout that otherwise doth presume than it was given by the author. We must, then, take heed, lest of the memory it *be made a sacrifice*; lest of a communion it be made a *private eating*; lest of two parts we have but one; lest, *applying it for the dead*, we lose the fruit that be alive.”<sup>h</sup> “Ought not we, then, by the monition of the wise man, by the wisdom of God, by the fearful example of the Corinthians, to take advised heed that we thrust not ourselves to this table with rude and unreverent ignorance, *the smart whereof Christ’s Church hath rued and lamented these many days and years*? For what hath been the cause of the ruin of God’s religion but the ignorance hereof? What hath been the cause of this *gross idolatry* but the ignorance hereof? What hath been the cause of this *mummish massing* but the ignorance hereof? Yea, what hath been, and what is at this day, the cause of this want of love and charity but the ignorance hereof? Let us, therefore, so travail to understand the Lord’s Supper that we be no cause of the decay of God’s worship, *of no idolatry, of no dumb massing*, of no hate and malice; so that we may the boldlier have access thither to our comfort.”<sup>i</sup> “Now it followeth to have with this knowledge a sure and constant faith, not only that the death of Christ is available for the redemption of all the world, for the remission of sins, and recon-

<sup>g</sup> *Homilies*, p. 396.<sup>h</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 396.<sup>i</sup> *Ibid.*, 397, 398.

ciliation with God the Father; but also that he hath made upon his cross a full and sufficient sacrifice for thee, a perfect cleansing of thy sins, so that thou acknowledgest no other Saviour, Redeemer, Mediator, Advocate, Intercessor, but Christ only; and that thou mayest say with the apostle, that *he loved thee, and gave himself for thee*. For this is to stick fast to Christ's promise made in his institution, to make Christ thine own, and to apply his merits unto thyself. *Herein thou needest no other man's help, no other sacrifice or oblation, no sacrificing priest, no mass, no means established by man's invention.*"<sup>i</sup>

"And truly as the bodily meat cannot feed the outward man, unless it be let into a stomach and digested which is healthful and sound, no more can the inward man be fed, except his meat be received into his soul and heart, sound and whole in faith. Therefore, said Cyprian, when we do these things, we need not to whet our teeth, but with sincere faith we break and divide that whole bread. It is well known that the meat we seek for in this supper is spiritual food, the nourishment of our soul, a heavenly refection, and not earthly; an invisible meat, and not bodily; a ghostly substance, and not carnal; so that to think that without faith we may enjoy the eating and drinking thereof, or that that is the fruition of it, is but to dream of gross carnal feeding, basely subjecting and binding ourselves to the elements and creatures. Whereas, by the advice of the Council of Nice, we ought to lift up our minds by faith, and leaving these inferior and earthly things, there seek it where the sun of righteousness ever shineth. Take, then, this lesson, O thou that art desirous of this table, of Emissenus, a godly father, that when thou goest up to the reverend communion to be satisfied with spiritual meats, thou look up with faith upon the holy body and blood of thy God, thou marvel with reverence, thou touch it *with the mind*, thou receive it with the *hand of thy heart*, and thou take it fully *with thy inward man*."<sup>j</sup>

This, positively this, is the homily which, by implication, we are required to regard as justifying the *Directorium Angli-*

<sup>i</sup> *Homilies*, p. 399.

<sup>j</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 399, 400.

*canum*. There has scarcely ever been written a more utterly loathsome book ; and it would be a comfort if every one of the foundations upon which it rests were as shamelessly dishonest as this appeal to the *Homilies*. But, unfortunately, though there can be no doubt whatever about the general intention of the Reformers, yet many terms, especially technical terms, were allowed to remain in the Anglican formularies, through which almost every Popish superstition might easily make its way. Nay, even the Reformers themselves were by no means completely set free from the bondage of old formularies. They had a firm grasp of the genuine substance ; but they still called it, with more or less inconsistency, by names that were wholly unsuitable. They had come to understand what the Lord's Supper really was, but they were still vainly endeavouring to express the newly-discovered truth by the words which had long been appropriated to the mysteries of the mass. When Jesus Christ took bread and brake it—when, in fact, he instituted the Lord's Supper—it was at a social meal. The apostles who were present were dressed like ordinary Jews. Jesus Christ was to them a genuine friend, a true prophet of God ; nay, indeed, such a revealer of the Father, that it seemed to them almost as if they had never known God before. In his miracles he had shewn them not simply the power of God—which they had never doubted, and which had stifled them like a nightmare—but the gentleness of the power of the Almighty, its orderliness and its perfect love. In his parables he had made them understand how everything about them was a portion of the divine order ; how the common facts of life and the processes of nature were revelations of the kingdom of heaven ; how even Solomon himself, with all his glory, was not arrayed like one of the lilies of the field. “Heaven was about them ;” they felt that they were living in heaven, that everything was full of God, that he was looking out upon his human children through every form of beauty, and teaching them in all sweet sounds to join in the great chorus with which all his works were praising him. For many months the disciples had been spiritually living upon Christ. They knew perfectly well that their life would have been dwarfed and poor without him ; it was not their bodies that

Christ had fed ; on the contrary, they had fed his body. But, on the other hand, it was not the bodily life that was the highest. Who knows what these apostles were physically ? Or, in defiance of all tradition, imagination might picture them with all kinds of physical defects. One or other of them might have been blind, or dumb, or deaf, or lame, with all manner of "thorns in the flesh ;" nevertheless, Jesus Christ had been to one and all of them, saving Judas Iscariot, the "bread of life." So now at this last supper they could not be surprised when Jesus Christ uttered the words, "This is my body, this cup is the new covenant in my blood." Could they possibly dream that he meant they were to eat *him* ? That with their actual teeth they were to chew and grind his flesh, having carefully abstained even from first washing their teeth, lest pure water should have entered into their stomachs before the Incarnate God ? Is it possible that they could so far have forgotten what Christ himself had said about that which goeth into the mouth ? They were met together to commemorate a great deliverance—the deliverance of the children of Israel out of the house of bondage. They were not members of the same family, not kinsmen according to the flesh ; but they were brought together by a common spiritual purpose ; and the reason why *they* were brought together was simply this, that they had been bound together by Christ.

If the words of the Saviour may be paraphrased into the elaborate rubrics of the *Directorium Anglicanum*, it may surely not be irreverent for *any one* to try to expand the meaning which those few words imply. "Whenever you meet together to eat bread, remember Him who used to bless it for you ; who made you understand that it was a gift of your heavenly Father's love, a symbol and a promise of the better bread which nourishes the soul. You know what the life eternal is. 'This is life eternal, to know the only true God, and Jesus Christ, whom God has sent.' That which feeds your spirit, which keeps alive and strengthens in you this eternal life, is myself. I am that true bread which comes down from heaven, and you would never have known how near God is to you, and how much he cares about you, if I had not come down to the world

to live with you. It is through becoming like you, by means of that very body, which can become hungry and thirsty and tired, and tortured with pain, that I helped you to know what God really is, and so nourished in you the eternal life. And you will know him better still, and the life of your spirits will be stronger than ever, when I have poured out even my blood that you and all men may be set free from the bondage of sin. Whenever, then, you meet together, as you are met together now, thank God for the bread which strengtheneth man's heart, and the wine that makes his heart glad; and remember that you have no need to be afraid even of them that kill the body, and after that have no more they can do. If you can get no food to eat, you must not forget 'that man doth not live by bread only, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God.' I am the word of God, and I have come down to you, and taken this body and this blood, in order that you may be nourished by God's word. It is much better for you that I should go away, or else, perhaps, you might begin to think that the flesh and blood I have taken, for the sake of being better able to teach you what God is, were themselves God. You might begin to think that when you could not see me, or speak to me, or hear me speak to you, you were quite out of God's sight, and could have no fellowship with him. Therefore I shall go away from you; and when I am gone you will know me much better than you do now; you will have that very same spirit given to you which has enabled me always to trust in my Father, and always to do his will. When that spirit comes upon you, you will know that 'the Father is in me, and I in him, and you all one in us.' But you must never forget that I really did come to you, and live with you; that I used to eat bread and drink wine with you; that I had a real body and blood, such as yours. You must, therefore, keep your bodies holy and pure; and you must remember that what I made you understand about God by coming and living with you will be always true for you, and for all men. Meet together, therefore, as we are met together now, and break bread, and say, 'This is the body of Christ.' Drink wine, and say, 'This is the new covenant in Christ's blood.' When you say these words you will remember me,

and you will remember your Father in heaven, and you will remember what sort of covenant of grace and mercy it is that God has made with you and with all men."

Something like this I believe to have been the meaning of Christ's words at the Last Supper; and it must not be forgotten that the narrative of the evangelists, taken alone, contains only the slightest hint that the service was ever to be repeated. St. Matthew and St. Mark say nothing at all that would imply such a repetition. St. Luke says only concerning the breaking of bread, "This do in remembrance of me." A very steadfast and probable tradition, however, identifies the author of the third Gospel with the friend and companion of St. Paul; and in that case, St. Luke's account of the Last Supper may have been modified by the teaching of the apostle himself. The fullest account that we have of what Christ did, "the same night in which he was betrayed," is to be found in the Epistle to the Corinthians (1 Cor. xi. 23—26): "For I have received of the Lord that which also I delivered unto you, that the Lord Jesus, the same night in which he was betrayed, took bread. And when he had given thanks, he brake it, and said, Take eat, this is my body which is broken for you; this do in remembrance of me. After the same manner also he took the cup, when he had supped, saying, This cup is the new testament in my blood: this do ye, as oft as ye drink it, in remembrance of me. For as often as ye eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye do shew the Lord's death till he come."

It is by no means easy to explain the words, "*I have received of the Lord*;" though nothing is easier than to suggest a number of pure hypotheses, any one of which would, *if true*, furnish a sufficient explanation. Bengel, for instance, cuts the knot of the difficulty by the single word "*immediate*." So Olshausen affirms, without so much even as attempting to prove, that "Exegetically the *ἀπὸ τοῦ κυρίου* cannot be otherwise received than with the antithesis *οὐκ ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων*, as expressly stated by Paul in Gal. i. 12. Accordingly we have here an authentic declaration of the risen Saviour himself concerning his sacrament." There can be no doubt whatever that St. Paul claims to have received the Gospel, not of man, but by

the revelation of Jesus Christ. But there is not the least reason to suppose that Jesus Christ could reveal truth only by himself appearing in a bodily form ; in that case, indeed, it is difficult to perceive how the resurrection and ascension of the Saviour can be otherwise regarded than as a most serious loss. In fact, this was the very mistake into which St. Paul's enemies were continually falling ; they disputed his apostleship for that very reason that he had not known Christ after the flesh. Dean Alford simply asserts, dogmatically, " Received from the Lord by special revelation,"—with reference to Gal. i. 21 Dean Stanley, on the other hand, who is much more unfettered in his treatment of the Pauline epistles, says, "The use of the words *παρέλαβον* and *παρέδωκα*, as in xv. 3, is against his derivation of the fact from immediate revelation. But the introduction of the phrase 'from the Lord' may perhaps mean that he had confirmed to him by revelation what he already knew as a fact." But whatever the meaning of this disputed phrase may be, St. Paul's account of the institution of the Lord's Supper, where it differs from the narrative of the evangelists, renders that narrative more simple and intelligible. The words, *This is my body*, if taken alone, might possibly be tortured into the expression of a profound mystery, partly theological, partly philosophical, and chiefly carnal. But the words, *Do this in remembrance of me*, show us exactly what the mystery is ; and it may safely be affirmed that if the apostles had known that Jesus Christ meant anything like what the mediæval doctors supposed him to mean, the disorders of the Corinthian Church would have been impossible. But anybody who can get the mass out of the first Epistle to the Corinthians is past argument.

I believe, then, that in the *bread and wine* employed in the Eucharist there is actually no presence of Jesus Christ whatever of any sort. After consecration the elements remain exactly what they were before consecration. The whole and the only effect of the consecration is upon the minds of men, and not upon the matter of the sacrament, much less upon Almighty God. If this be not accepted as the true state of the case, it matters next to nothing what theory of the real presence



in the bread and wine may be adopted. It is the great defect of the Book of Common Prayer and of the other formularies of the Established Church, that while distinctly excluding the dogma of transubstantiation, they have left room for, and have actually encouraged, a great number of theories, not one of which is a bit more reasonable or a bit less superstitious than transubstantiation itself. When the author of the *Christian Year* publishes a treatise upon *Eucharistical Adoration*, and when the members of the Church of England are taught that when they swallow the consecrated wafer they take not only the flesh and blood of Jesus, but the whole Godhead *into their bodies*, does anybody in his senses care a bent pin by what particular theory these monstrous blasphemies may be justified?

Transubstantiation itself belongs rather to philosophy than to theology. It involves a certain belief about substances and attributes which, whether true or false, can by no means be confined to the substance and attributes of bread and wine. Modern philosophy, the philosophy that derives all its information from the senses, refuses to acknowledge the existence of substance at all. Bread, this philosophy teaches us, is but the name we give to a number of co-existing sensations in ourselves. But, supposing there be some actual substance which differs from other substances, and which is manifested to us by those differences, if we recognize its presence by a certain chemical composition, colour, scent, taste, density, then, in the absence of all these marks and characteristics, the substance itself would cease to attract our attention, or would become identified with some other substance. In like manner, the presence of a totally different set of marks and characteristics would indicate to us the presence of an altogether different substance. In other words, we recognize the presence of a substance simply by its attributes, and no otherwise. The attributes of bread, and the attributes of flesh and blood, are perfectly well known; and these attributes are not only different from each other, but they are mutually exclusive of each other. Of course this would be acknowledged even by the Roman divines themselves; but, in order to explain the real presence of the body and blood

of Christ in the consecrated bread and wine of the Eucharist, they not only distinguish, but they attempt even to separate, the substance from its accidents. It is, of course, conceivable that two towers might have been built upon separate foundations. One tower, for instance, might be at Dover, and the other at Calais. It is just conceivable that the towers themselves, remaining exactly as they were, their foundations should be exchanged, so that the Dover tower might have the Calais foundation, and the Calais tower the Dover foundation. Just in the same way the Roman divines imagined that they could deal with the accidents of the Eucharistic bread and wine and the body and blood of Christ. It was perfectly obvious that, in respect to the accidents, the body and blood of Christ did not come into the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. If not only the substance but the accidents of Christ had been produced by the words of consecration, there would have appeared upon the altar—nay, upon every altar in Christendom—nay, more, even in the mouth of every communicant—a grown-up living man, between five and six feet high, with hair and eyes and teeth, and literal flesh and bones, such as all grown-up men have. As such a miracle as this was unquestionably never wrought by any words of consecration, the Catholic divines tell us the miracle is wrought, not upon the accidents, but upon the substance of the bread and wine. The accidents of bread and wine are certainly still discernible by the senses; while, on the contrary, the accidents of the body and blood of Christ certainly are not. But in fact, we are assured, there is on the altar after consecration a living, adult man, and the infinite God himself, with the weight, the chemical composition, the scent, the colour, and the density of a little round piece of bread.

If this explanation satisfies anybody, well and good; and if it had been thought profane that the change of substance should have been made immediately, and by a single leap, it would have been quite possible to assume that there were millions of intermediate transubstantiations. Why not, for instance, affirm (because nobody could disprove it) that at the moment of uttering the words, "*This is my body*," the substance of Christ stands first of all under the accidents of an

angel, then under those of a man, then, one after another, under those of the nobler of the animals, and then, at last, under the bread? Or why not affirm that, while there are the accidents only of bread and wine, there are the substances both of bread and of Christ? The absurdity of all these explanations is that they are mere moonshine, and that while human language continues to exist, substance and accidents may and must be distinguished, but never can be separated. On the other hand, it is not simply the explanation offered by the Roman Church that is foolish and offensive; the evil lies in the thing to be explained. If in any way whatever the man Christ Jesus is so present in the bread and wine of the Eucharist, that whoever or whatever eats the one eats also the other, then the mode of explaining this astounding fact is a matter of the most trifling importance. Indeed, not only is the communion office of the Church of England independent of the doctrine of transubstantiation, but so also is the Canon of the Mass. The Canon of the Mass had been used many generations before the dogma of transubstantiation was defined; and even now nothing short of a miracle of exegesis can make the two consistent. "*Offerimus præclaræ Majestati tuæ de tuis donis ac datis, hostiam puram, hostiam sanctam, hostiam immaculatam, Panem sanctum vitæ æternæ, et Calicem salutis perpetuæ. Supra quæ propitio ac sereno vultu respicere digneris; et accepta habere, sicuti accepta habere dignatus es munera pueri tui justî Abel, et sacrificium patriarchæ nostri Abrahæ, et quod tibi obtulit summus sacerdos tuus Melchisedech, sanctum sacrificium immaculatam hostiam.*"

It is difficult to perceive how these words, uttered after the consecration, could be honestly used by those who believe that the sacrifice offered in the Eucharist is the very body and blood of Jesus Christ Himself. Why, indeed, compare the Son of God Himself to the offering of Abel, or of Abraham, or of Melchizedek, when it has been the constant teaching of the Catholic Church itself that those sacrifices had been themselves accepted only for the sake of this?

Unhappily, however, all that the Anglican divines can be persuaded to say is, that that explanation of the real Presence

which is called Transubstantiation, is not the true explanation, but that on the other hand the thing which Transubstantiation is intended to explain is itself a fact; that the body and blood of Christ are really present in the bread and wine of the Eucharist as they are not present anywhere else, and as they were not present there before the words of consecration. Ridley, for instance, in his last examination, examined by the Bishop of Lincoln, answers, "My Lord,<sup>t</sup> . . . both you and I agree herein, that in the Sacrament is the very true and natural body and blood of Christ, even that which was born of the Virgin Mary, which ascended into heaven, which sitteth on the right hand of God the Father, which shall come from thence to judge the quick and the dead; only we differ *in modo*, in the way and manner of being; we confess all one thing to be in the sacrament, and dissent in the manner of being there. I, being fully by God's Word thereunto persuaded, confess Christ's natural body to be in the Sacrament indeed by Spirit and grace, because that whosoever receiveth worthily that bread and wine, receiveth effectuously Christ's body, and drinketh his blood (that is, he is made effectually partaker of his passion); and you make a grosser kind of being, enclosing a natural, a lively, and a moving body, under the shape and form of bread and wine. Now, this difference considered, to the question thus I answer;—that in the sacrament of the altar is the natural body and blood of Christ *vere et realiter*, indeed and really, for spiritually, by grace and efficacy; for so every worthy receiver receiveth the very true body of Christ. But if you mean really and indeed, so that thereby you would include a lively and a moveable body under the forms of bread and wine, then, in that sense, is not Christ's body in the Sacrament really and indeed?"

Again, the well-known words of Hooker affirm a doctrine about the real Presence against which there is every objection, except such as are merely philosophical, which could be urged against either the Roman or Lutheran hypothesis. "Let it therefore be sufficient for me presenting myself at the Lord's table to know what there I receive from him, without searching

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<sup>t</sup> *Works of Bishop Ridley* (Parker's Edition), pp. 273, 274.

or inquiring of the manner how Christ performeth his promise; let disputes and questions, enemies to piety, abatements of true devotion, and hitherto in this cause but over patiently heard, let them take their rest; let curious and sharp-witted men beat their heads about what questions themselves will, the very letter of the Word of Christ giveth plain security, that these mysteries do as nails fasten us to his very cross; that by them we draw out as touching efficacy, force and virtue, even the blood of his gored side; in the wounds of our Redeemer we there dip our tongues, we are dyed red both within and without, our hunger is satisfied and our thirst for ever quenched; they are things wonderful which he feeleth, great which he seeth, and unheard of which he uttereth, whose soul is possessed of the Paschal Lamb, and made joyful in the strength of this new wine; this bread hath in it more than the substance which our eyes behold; this cup hallowed with solemn benediction, availeth to the endless life and welfare both of soul and body, in that it serveth as well for a medicine to heal our infirmities and purge our sins as for a sacrifice of thanksgiving; with touching it sanctifieth, it enlighteneth with belief, it truly conformeth us unto the image of Jesus Christ; what these elements are in themselves it skilleth not, it is enough that to me which take them they are the body and blood of Christ, his promise in witness hereof sufficeth, his word he knoweth which way to accomplish; why should any cogitation possess the mind of a faithful communicant but this; O my God thou art true, O my soul thou art happy?"

All this sort of pious meditation would be exceedingly reverent if it were in the least degree necessary; but why torture one's mind with any sense of mystery at all? Nothing but the most explicit words could require any body to believe that by the mere words of consecration, any change whatever would be produced in the bread and wine; but in fact Jesus Christ does not say a single syllable about consecration. According to St. Matthew and St. Mark, He does not say a single word about the repetition of the service. According to St. Luke and St. Paul, He says, "Do this in remembrance of me." What

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<sup>1</sup> *Ecclesiastical Polity*, v., lxxvii., 13.

the thing they were to do really was is open to very much discussion. What is certainly plain is, that they were to eat the bread and drink the wine. Considering what Christ had done in the Last Supper, they were to take bread, bless it, and break it, and give thanks. But what single word of Scripture is there to shut us up to the belief that what Christ intended was really to give this command,—“I hereby empower you to set apart men to be my priests, and I also give you authority to appoint men to be your own successors and to have the same power that you yourselves have; in order that there may be an apostolical succession of priests through all time. I command each one of these priests to consider himself my representative; to take bread, bless it and break it, and say, exactly as if he were *myself*, “This is my body;” and I promise that the bread shall then become my body, and whoever eats it shall eat me.” There is nothing like this in the New Testament; and there is nothing in the conduct of the apostles to indicate that they believed it. And we might have expected clear references to this mystic and supernatural character of the Supper more in the first age than in any other—because the dogma and the ceremony being quite new, and in many respects repulsive both to Jews and to Gentiles, would be in great danger of mistake or neglect.

But even if the actual body in which Jesus Christ appeared among us could be presented, even then *it would be idolatry to worship it*. Surely Church history, and especially the history of the Sacraments, has proved the profound wisdom of Christ’s words,—“IT IS EXPEDIENT FOR YOU THAT I GO AWAY.”

But what I wish to direct special attention to is the fact that *any* doctrine of the real Presence of Christ’s body *in the consecrated bread*,—as distinguished from his presence through the whole Sacrament to the spirits of the communicants,—is perfectly certain to produce every abomination and superstition which has grown out of or generated the dogma of Transubstantiation. Already the author of *The Christian Year* ADORES the Eucharist; already there are in the Established Church litanies and a “Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament;” already there are Cautels for mass—Anglican mass—which are so loathsomely blasphemous, that to turn from them even to the coarse oaths of a

drunken costermonger is a refreshing relief. Even the Bishop of St. David's acknowledges that the Ritualists have not transgressed the orthodox boundaries of the Reformed Church in the matter of Transubstantiation: but it makes no difference whatever in practice. Transubstantiation is not necessary to superstition.

The *Directorium Anglicanum* is a choice specimen of what may be done and taught within the Reformed and Established Church. It has passed, in an expensive form, through large editions; and is regarded as a work of no mean authority. This then, and such as this, may be believed and taught and done, in any parish in England—for a while. Of course the Ritualists regard the Consecration Prayer as "the Canon," and proceed as follows—

"THE CANON. This is so called because it has been laid down as the rule or canon which is to be rigidly followed by the priest who offers the Holy Sacrifice. The Prayer of Consecration—containing the Commemoration of the Passion, the Invocation, and the Consecration Proper, *i. e.*, the Words of Institution.

"The Celebrant does just what Christ did, as near as we can imitate His Action. He takes, when he says 'He took;' and presents to God the element; he breaks, when he says, 'He brake it,' and designs it to reception by laying his hand upon it, and in a manner imparts it when he says, Our Lord gave it saying, 'Take, eat,' etc.: and he makes it the body of Christ by the words of consecration, 'HOC EST CORPUS MEUM.'"—p. 72.

"Some of the English clergy say the following before the Prayer of Consecration, in secret;—'Most merciful God, look graciously upon the gifts now lying before Thee, and send down Thy HOLY SPIRIT upon this Sacrifice, that He may make this bread the body of Thy CHRIST, and this cup the blood of Thy CHRIST; and that all who are partakers thereof may obtain remission of their sins, be confirmed in godliness, and be filled with Thy HOLY SPIRIT. Amen.' But the English (as the Roman) Church holds, that the words of Institution are sufficient for the consecration, as may be gathered from the rubric concerning the consecration of further bread and wine.

"Though it be true that God the FATHER effects the consecration of the elements by the operation of God the HOLY GHOST, it is unnecessary to pray *expressly* for the HOLY GHOST to consecrate the elements of bread and wine, because God knows perfectly all that is necessary for a valid consecration."—p. 74.

"The Celebrant at the Consecration Prayer inclines humbly, *extensis manibus*. Before the recital of the Words of Institution the Celebrant should remove the pall from the chalice. At the words 'body' and 'blood,' he should make a cross over the elements. At the words 'Who, in the same night,' he should rest his elbows on the altar, bowing down. The paten and also the chalice are held in the left hand; the sign of the cross being made with the right hand. After the words, 'This is my body which is given for you,' the 'hostia' should be placed on the paten, and the Celebrant with his assistants should reverently genuflect. Then, rising, the Celebrant should at once elevate it with the first finger and thumb of both hands, for the worship of the faithful, while he is saying, 'Do this in remembrance of me.' After the words, 'This is my blood of the New Testament,' he should place the chalice on the centre of the Corporal, and with his assistants genuflect again; after which he should in like manner elevate the chalice with both hands while he is saying, 'Do this as oft as ye shall drink of it in remembrance of me.' After the consecration, the Celebrant will keep the fingers and thumbs of each hand joined until after the ablutions. The lay assistants at the altar, and members of the choir, should be instructed to bow profoundly at the consecration and elevation.

"After the Consecration Prayer it is most desirable that no person passes before the blessed Sacrament, without genuflecting, bowing, or some token of reverence."—pp. 76, 77.

"PRECES SECRETE may be said by the Celebrant standing humbly before the midst of the Altar. The following are strongly recommended. (*Ex Missali Sarum*). They should be written out plainly, printed or illuminated:—

"DICENDÆ POST CONSECRATIONEM.

"Unde et memores, Domine, nos servi Tui, sed et plebs Tua sancta, ejusdem Christi filii Tui Domini Dei nostri tam beatæ



Passionis, necnon et ab inferis Resurrectionis, sed et in cœlos gloriosæ Ascensionis, offerimus præclaræ Majestati Tuæ de Tuis donis ac datis, Hostiam pu ✠ ram, Hostiam sanc ✠ tam, Hostiam imma ✠ culatam: Panem sanc ✠ tum vitæ æternæ, et Cali ✠ cem salutis perpetuæ.

“Supra quæ propitio ac sereno vultu respicere digneris; et accepta habere, sicuti accepta habere dignatus es munera pueri Tui justi Abel, et sacrificium Patriarchæ nostri Abrahæ: et quod Tibi obtulit summus sacerdos Tuus Melchisedech, sanctum sacrificium, immaculatam Hostiam. Supplices Te rogamus Omnipotens Deus; jube hæc perferri per manus sancti Angeli Tui in sublime altare Tuum, in conspectu Divinæ Majestatis Tuæ: ut quotquot ex hac altaris participatione, sacrosanctum Filii Tui Cor ✠ pus et San ✠ guinem sumpserimus: omni bene ✠ dictione cœlesti gratia repleamur. Per eundem Christum Dominum nostrum. *Amen.* Memento etiam, Domine animarum famulorum famularumque Tuarum (N. et N.) qui nos præcesserunt cum signo fidei, et dormiunt in somno pacis: ipsis Domine, et omnibus in Christo quiescentibus, locum refrigerii, lucis et pacis, ut indulgeas, deprecamur. Per eundem Christum Dominum nostrum. *Amen.*

“Nobis quoque peccatoribus famulis Tuis de multitudine miserationum Tuarum sperantibus, partem aliquam et societatem donare digneris cum Tuis sanctis Apostolis et Martyribus: cum Joanne, Stephano, Matthia, Barnaba, Ignatio, Alexandro, Marcellino, Petro, Felicitate, Perpetua, Agatha, Lucia, Agnete, Cæcilia, Anastatia, et cum omnibus Sanctis Tuis: intra quorum nos consortium non estimator meriti, sed veniæ, quæsumus, largitor admitte. Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Per quem hæc omnia Domine, semper bona creas, sancti ✠ ficas, vivi ✠ ficas, bene ✠ dicis, et præstas nobis. Per ip ✠ sum, et cum ip ✠ so, et in ip ✠ so est Tibi Deo Patri Omnip ✠ tenti, unitate Spiritus ✠ Sancti omnis honor et gloria. Per omnia sæcula sæculorum. *Amen.*

“The above should be said with no pauses nor delays; immediately after the elevation: so that not too much time be taken up, nor the service too considerably lengthened.”—pp. 78, 79.

“The communicants should be careful to kneel where they

are instructed to kneel, and should hold the head and body erect. It is obviously impossible to communicate people who put their faces on the floor, or who kneel off and away from the kneeling cushions, without the greatest danger to the blessed Sacrament, and the most painful and singular inconvenience to the clergy."<sup>m</sup>

Such are the new Rubrics, the interpolated and secret prayers, which are meant to fit, and *do* fit, the Anglican dogma of the Real Presence. But lest we should possibly miss the grossly carnal character of this doctrine, we have the following "Cautels of the Mass."

"The seventh Cautel is, that before mass the priest do not wash his mouth or teeth, but only his lips from without with his mouth closed as he has need, lest perchance he should intermingle the taste of water with his saliva. After mass also he should beware of expectorations as much as possible, until he shall have eaten and drunken, lest by chance anything shall have remained between his teeth or in his *fauces*, which, by expectorating, he might eject."—p. 109.

"Also: if a fly or spider or any such thing should fall into the chalice before consecration, or even if the priest shall apprehend that poison hath been put in, the wine which is in the chalice ought to be poured out, and the chalice ought to be washed, and other wine with water put therein to be consecrated. But if any of these (contingencies) befall after the consecration, the fly or spider or such like thing should be warily taken, oftentimes diligently washed between the fingers, and should then be burnt, and the ablution, together with the burnt ashes, must be put in the piscina. But the poison ought by no means to be taken, but such blood with which poison has been mingled should be reserved in a comely vessel, together with the relics."—p. 113.

"If the Eucharist hath fallen to the ground, the place where it lay must be scraped, and fire kindled thereon, and the ashes reserved beside the altar."—p. 114.

"Also: if any one, by any accident of the throat, vomit up the Eucharist, the vomit ought to be burned, and the ashes

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<sup>m</sup> *Directorium Anglicanum*, p. 81.

ought to be reserved near the altar. And if it shall be a cleric, monk, presbyter, or deacon, he must do penance for forty days, a bishop seventy days, a laic thirty. But if he vomits from infirmity, he must do penance for five days. But who does not keep the Sacrament well, so that a mouse or other animal devoured it, he must do penance forty days."—p. 115.

It might indeed be objected that even granting the Real Presence in the consecrated elements, it can scarcely be necessary for the priesthood to treat the body of Christ as if it were a little doll. But apart from the mere frivolousness of the ceremonials and Cautels of the Mass, what possible objection can, by any Anglican, be taken to them? If Jesus Christ, soul and body, flesh, blood, and divinity, is really and objectively present in a bit of bread, there is certainly every reason why the bit of bread should be taken care of. It is certain that in that case the Christ could be as completely eaten by a mouse as by a human being; and a fly might sip—and after all why not?—the blood that redeemed the world. If the wafer be Christ, then like all other food it is subject when eaten to the processes of digestion, assimilation, and excretion; and in spite of all the care the massing priest may take, innumerable Christs must have already found their way into the piscina—and who will tell us what becomes of them then?

I ought not perhaps, after all, to call this doctrine blasphemous. It is rather "a fond thing," and utterly unproveable. It only puts into a very gross form what multitudes of people believe about the omnipresence of God. The blasphemy, the dishonour done to God's character, lies in the theory which alone could justify any doctrine whatever of the Real Presence; for any such doctrine implies not so much that the incarnation exalted humanity to God, but rather that it turned the eternal Word Himself into a mere thing that could be eaten and digested. It implies that Almighty God, who gave men reason and intellect, and bodily senses, can find a sort of pleasure in tantalizing His own creatures, and rendering His own gifts worthless. Our senses are to lead us astray, our intellects are to be continually curbed, thwarted, and contradicted, and we are to suppose that the great merit of trusting God must arise

out of the total absence of every reason for confiding in Him. It implies moreover a doctrine of sacrifice which, when applied even to the one offering of Christ upon the cross, is heathenish ; and when applied to the perpetual sacrifices of the mass, reduces the whole doctrine of the atonement to an absurdity.

English people outside the ranks of the clergy have almost forgotten this Real Presence. Having been distinctly assured in their own communion office that by kneeling at the Lord's Supper "no adoration is intended, or ought to be done, either unto the sacramental bread or wine there bodily received, or unto any corporal presence of Christ's natural flesh and blood," they have gone on believing that Christ's body was in heaven, and that nothing but bread and wine was on God's board. Because, in the absence of all outward forms of homage, men had almost been delivered from the mischievous superstition of worshipping what their own hands had made, therefore have the Ritualists restored the forms that they may bring back the idolatry. It is the doctrine of the Real Presence far more than the ceremonial of the mass, which at heart they care for. And persistence in the ceremonial for a single generation will do far more to bring back popish superstitions than all the books of dry argument that were ever written.

Of course the restoration of the mass is inseparable from a certain theory of the nature and necessity of a priesthood, and of apostolical succession. That theory belongs not to the Roman Church only ; it is a natural product of human frailty. The experiment of applying it to practice, has indeed been tried with so appalling a completeness in the Roman Church, that it can no longer be doubtful what priestcraft is, and what priestcraft will do. But men so much prefer to be under authority, to serve God by deputy, and even in self-abasement to prostrate themselves in the deepest degradation, that they are continually condoning all the offences of priests, and persuading themselves that the gigantic tyranny by which not only individual souls but whole nations have been oppressed, was the not inevitable abuse of necessary and beneficial powers. No mistake can be greater and more fatal. It is unquestionably the inevitable effect of powers that are not only unnecessary but malignant.

A consistent priest cannot help being a tyrant, and in a generation or two priests become not only tyrants but demoralized ; they become cruel, or crafty, or both. It should be then distinctly understood that the great lesson which Ritualism is teaching to English men and women, boys and girls, is the necessity of the priest. Only the priest can administer those sacraments which are essential means of grace, and pronounce that absolution which is the loosing of sin. Only priests can teach the Church authoritatively what is the truth of God, and safely guide them in the way of life. What then can be the use of free discussion ? We may argue till doomsday, and we can only arrive at one or other of two conclusions—either at the doctrine that the priest approves, or at the doctrine he does not approve. If the latter, we are wrong and must give up our own opinions or be damned. If the former, argument was wholly useless. How can churchmen, for instance, be hesitating about such a matter as the “Conscience Clause?” Can an uninspired layman have a mind of his own on such a matter as the proper education of the young ? Is he to say to a divinely authorized instructor, Because the parents of these little children choose to live in heresy and schism, you must let them alone, and abstain from teaching them the saving doctrines of the Church ? Nay, if this doctrine of the priesthood is once more to be dominant in England, mortal sins such as heresy and schism will no longer be tolerated. Not only will the souls of the little children be snatched as brands from the burning, but the bodies of their heretical and schismatical parents would be flung in. Are not kings and legislators, members of parliament and their constituents, alike bound to sit as humble disciples at the feet of those whom Jesus Christ has sent into the world to be his representatives ? Is it not therefore plain that the civil law must always follow the ecclesiastical law, and the nation become the bond slave of the Church ? The power to administer sacraments implies also the power of refusing to administer them ; the power of absolving implies the power of retaining sins ; the power to bless implies the power to excommunicate. It is perfectly certain which of these powers would be most exercised if priests had their own way. The com-

parative harmlessness of the priest in this country, and even in this age, arises from the fact that there are some millions of educated men and women in Europe who regard his claims with supreme contempt, and would just as soon have a priest's curse as his blessing.

The relation of this movement to the law of England, is still extremely uncertain. Judicial decisions by the supreme court are as yet few and unimportant, and the opinions of counsel, even the most eminent, are very conflicting. The Liturgy, Articles, and Homilies are so mutually inconsistent, that it is impossible to know how much of Ritualism is legal and how much is illegal. But this very fact is excessively demoralizing. First, because everybody knows that a decision might quite easily be obtained. The bishops are some of them in favour of the movement; and not one of them has the courage to bring the matter to an issue. It is simply absurd to pretend that the costliness of ecclesiastical procedure is a sufficient excuse for inaction. A single letter from the Bishop of London published in *The Times* newspaper would be certain to secure, before the end of a week, a fund which would be sufficient to obtain a judicial decision of every disputed point. But the fact is, a settlement is not wished, but dreaded. It could scarcely fail to split the Church in pieces, and probably to dis-establish religion altogether. The Bishop of Gloucester talks, with a piety that might with advantage be less oily, of the great blessing of unity, and the singular mercy of God which, at the time of the Gorham controversy, preserved "Our Beloved Church" from schism. Can any man of ordinary discernment fail to perceive in what way the Church was preserved from schism? It was preserved from schism by being robbed of dogma, and many people would eagerly add, by being robbed also of common honesty. Was any real wound in the Anglican Church healed, any doubt set at rest, any truth of God affirmed, any fatal error anathematized and cast out? Nothing of the sort. The Church of England simply said, "My beloved children, I don't know anything whatever about baptism. I don't know whether it regenerates a child or does not. I don't know whether it is necessary to salvation or not, and I wish to goodness you would not bother

me about any such trifle. Just preach whatever you like on the subject. The rector can say that baptism is necessary to salvation in the morning, and the curate can say that it is not in the afternoon; it doesn't make a bit of difference, and you are very stupid children to be making a fuss in the family about any such trifle."

That is what the Bishop of Gloucester unctuously calls "God in His great mercy preserving the unity of the Church." Perhaps we shall be told next, that the honour of thieves is one of the gifts of the Holy Ghost. The Gorham compromise was neither more nor less than a foul blot upon the honour of the English Church. There was not a single sect in this country which failed to perceive its true character, and to regard it with undisguised contempt. The Church of England was established by law in order that its dogmas might be fixed, and that the conduct of public worship might be delivered from the caprices of individuals and subject to the control of a recognized authority. It is a public scandal that, in a Church established by law, the law should be utterly uncertain, and that both dogma and ritual should be in such hopeless confusion; that amid much that is uncertain, one thing alone seems certain, that at least a full half of the clergy must be, whether they intend it or not, breaking the laws of their country, and abusing the souls of their people.

That this unfixedness of ecclesiastical law has, to a certain extent, been serviceable to freedom it is impossible to deny; but freedom could have been far better served in another way, and one which at the same time would have strengthened common honesty. The fact is that there never, at any single moment of time, was one valid reason why any particular form of Protestant dogma and worship should be established by law rather than another. From the time of Henry VIII.'s quarrel with the Pope, to this present moment, the Church of England has been in a perpetual flux—never *being* but always *becoming*. Until the death of Henry it was in doctrine unreformed, and the change which it had undergone was almost exclusively political. Edward VI. and his advisers were far too Protestant for the people, and when Mary came to the throne the old creed and the old ritual were more than tolerated by the great bulk of

the nation. In the reign of Elizabeth what called itself the Church of England, was opposed by a powerful Romanist faction on the one side, and by the discontent and stubborn energy of the Puritans on the other. During the Stuart period, not to mention its temporary destruction, there were all manner of conferences for the sake of effecting a compromise between opposing parties, and modifying both the creed and the ritual. There were two different, very different, Prayer Books set forth by authority in the reign of Edward VI., and another by Elizabeth, and again by Charles II.; and at this very moment there is not a single human being in the whole world who knows exactly what the Anglican formularies mean. In those days there was a mad desire in everybody to settle everything. Lutherans, Zwinglians, Calvinists, Anglicans, Presbyterians, though but yesterday they had all broken loose from the mightiest and oldest Church in Christendom, were all so satisfied of their own complete soundness, that they wanted their own little set of dogmas and ceremonies to be set forth by authority and guaranteed till the day of judgment. Yet even they themselves were changing every hour, and their descendants have been changing ever since. There is surely nothing to despise in this restlessness of the human mind, this eager pursuit of what is higher and truer and better. But what infatuation is it that leads men to imagine that, if it were only possible, it would be the highest virtue and the most far-reaching expediency to imprison the free spirit?

I must compress into a very brief space what I have yet to say in this essay about the Ritualists and Ritualism. There is scarcely anything dogmatic to distinguish them from Roman Catholics; and they also, like the Romanists, profess allegiance to authority, and affect to despise what they call liberty of conscience. But the Romanists can see quite plainly that though the Anglo-Catholics rest upon authority it is an authority of *their own determining*. They determine for themselves, according to their own private judgment, which popes and councils are infallible, and which canons and decrees are binding upon their consciences. They accept both dogma and ceremonial at some one particular point of their own choosing, and refuse to



move on further along the course of ecclesiastical development. Therefore they are schismatical, infected with the fatal vice of private judgment; and even Dr. Pusey's *Eirenicon*—is not its title written in the index of forbidden books?

In relation to the Bible, they accept it as *an* authority, but not as *the* authority; as at first it needed for its own canonical authority, so it needs now for its true interpretation and right use, the authority of the Church.

In the state and in society Ritualism is the signal for revolution. It is surely impossible that the great mass of Englishmen should ever again believe the dogmas upon which priestcraft and Ritualism are based; but their disbelief, and that *only*, will save us from the old tyrannies. Even now the influence of hateful dogmas is widely felt; the old bitterness of religious controversy is becoming again intensified. Again, "Dissenters"—which, at any rate, means men who are honest enough to leave a church whose laws they do not know, and therefore *cannot* obey—are abused as heretics, as men infected with a contagious leprosy of soul-destroying error. Again, priests are sowing discord in families, and trying to undo the charities which have thus far survived ecclesiastical intolerance. Even clergymen who are not Ritualist are unable, in some districts, to open schools or seek for pupils with any reasonable hope of success. Petty persecutions of all kinds are freely employed. The priests are taking possession of us, as if the Lord had delivered us into their hands for a prey. They demand our souls and bodies, our wives and children, our lives and liberties, "in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost."

It is quite impossible to over-estimate the importance of this crisis, or to search too earnestly for the cure of the mischief. Nothing can justify mere lawlessness, so long as a nation is fairly represented and makes its own laws. The riots at St. George's-in-the-East probably helped what they were meant to destroy. But it would be a sight not without its moral grandeur, if some stern old prophet would burn men's bones upon these altars of abomination, trample under foot the conjured bread, and pour out the wine-blood like water. Let all *equal* rights be conceded even to those who are undermining the liberties of

England, but not a single *privilege*; let it be remembered that they are the enemies of the Commonwealth, and that our defences, whatever may be our foe, are only weakened by their alliance.

The one cure for Ritualism is *Rationalism*—by which I mean, not a set of results but a *method*. The priests must be made to *prove* their priesthood; and gorgeous ceremonial must justify itself, or depart elsewhere. Perfectly free enquiry will cut up all this mischief by the roots, and nothing short of perfect freedom. Rationalism may lead us to Rome or to Geneva; but, at any rate, let us know where we are going and why we choose that road. Faith does not mean “taking anything whatever for granted.” A man may believe whatever he likes, if he will look only to one set of facts, and he may give to his ignorant belief the name of knowledge. At the end of all enquiry, all observation and introspection, there will still remain great divine mysteries, facts which are the substance of all phenomena, truths which can be resolved into no simpler truths. But apart from these, we shall never get rid of pestilent superstitions and debasing lies until we reverse the dictum of St. Augustine, and give ourselves the trouble “to *know* in order that we may *believe*.”

WILLIAM KIRKUS.

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*A Shadow of the Flint Age.*—In addition to the notes that have already appeared in the *Athenæum* concerning the zurim or flint knives of the Hebrews, in the time of Joshua (fifteenth century B.C.), it seems that four centuries later there was no smith amongst the Israelites, the Philistines keeping the art of working iron to themselves as a matter of policy (1 Sam. xiii. 19). From a recent number of the *Comptes Rendus* we gather that the Chinese emperor, Woo-wang (B.C. 1122) received arrows with stone points as tribute from the inhabitants of So-tchin, which people continued the use of them in the time of Confucius. The long time Noah took to build the ark would imply the want of proper tools, which might be explained by Tubal Cain's knowledge being confined to the descendants of Cain; and this having been swept away by the flood, the world would have to begin again with flint or stone implements.—JOHN JOS. LAKE.—*Athenæum*.

**PLEA FOR A REVISED TRANSLATION OF THE SCRIPTURES.**

THE Church of England, in its Articles, does not hesitate to assert its claim to be "a witness and a keeper of Holy Writ." If by this we are to understand that any means are used, or any anxiety shewn, by our prelates and clergy to supply to the laity the most authentic text or the most accurate translation of the inspired writings, the Church does indeed "profess too much." If the guardianship be regarded as a privilege, it has been neglected; if as a duty, it has been grievously disregarded or forgotten; since no one at all acquainted with the subject can be ignorant that the authorized version in many particulars, (some of them of no mean importance), is very inaccurate, that it retains several passages known to be spurious; and that for more than two hundred and fifty years no effort has been made to supply, by authority, a more accurate translation.

"*Quis custodiet custodes;*"—who shall bear witness against these unfaithful witnesses, or guard these careless guardians? To some extent this is done by the Rev. Alfred Dewes in a very able work lately published under the title prefixed to this paper. But although the author has pointed out many of the errors in question, there are a vast number which he has omitted to notice, and he has said but little on an interesting and important topic;—the causes to which some of them may be traced. Nor has he suggested any method by which the injury may, to some extent, be redressed, nor exposed the fallacy of the objections which have been made to a revision. He certainly has not failed to notice the apathy with which the subject has been treated by those in high places in the Church, but from his own position he could not but feel under some restraint in dealing with the subject in that sense, and has thus left unsaid much that might have been said, and ought to be said, in reprobation of the general neglect of an important duty.

In one particular it must be admitted, that we have little reason to complain of the clergy: at least those of our own time. The imperfections and errors of the authorized version have been repeatedly acknowledged by Dean Alford, Bishop Ellicott, Dr. Barrow, Dr. Moberly, and several others of our

most eminent divines, as well in express terms as impliedly by their conduct in preparing fresh translations of the most important portions of the New Testament. But confession is of little avail unless followed by amendment; and of amendment, in the sense of an *authorized* revision, there is as yet no sign. "The hungry sheep look up, and are *not* fed." It is not likely that anything effectual will be accomplished for two or three generations at least, unless the lay members of the Church perform their part by forcing the subject upon the attention of those who by position ought to take the lead; and this can never be more appropriately done than in the pages of a Journal devoted to the study of Sacred Literature.

In order in some measure to excuse the general apathy which has been exhibited on this subject, it has long been the fashion to extol, and sometimes to exaggerate, the merits of the present version, and thus to raise a false issue under cover of which the real question is withdrawn from observation. Mr. Dewes has forcibly, yet temperately, exposed and reproved this method. Bishop Ellicott says that ours is "a noble version," "the best translation in the world" (which indeed it may well be without being very good). But no one ever doubted that, having regard to the time at which it was effected, and the men by whom it was composed, and to the necessity which they were under of following the directions given to them by James I., the present version is an admirable and excellent work. That, however, is not the question. Those who are anxious for the cause of religious truth have only to consider how, and by whom, the acknowledged imperfections can best be remedied. Nor indeed can we, with Bishop Ellicott, regard that translation as a *very* noble one, in a single book of which (the Epistle to the Galatians), containing only one hundred and forty-nine verses, he himself has made no less than two hundred and fifty-two alterations and corrections; and in doing so, as he states, he has only corrected those passages which were incorrect, inexact, insufficient or obscure. If in this one Epistle so many errors are found, how many may we not be prepared to find in the others? *Ex pede Herculem.*

It is often said, and by none more frequently than by those

who are least acquainted with the nature and extent of the errors in question, that, if they were all corrected, nothing of what we have been accustomed to regard as the great truths taught by Scripture would be affected or invalidated, and that therefore no revision is needed. But since doctrine lies at the root of practice, and both depend upon, and are regulated by, Christ's teaching and that of His Apostles, it is most unreasonable to suppose that *any* error, however trifling in appearance, in making known that teaching, can be otherwise than injurious, and the persistence in it most reprehensible. Scripture truths are what Scripture teaches, not what careless or incompetent or prejudiced translators may have *represented* it as teaching. Neither is it true that the errors in question are of trifling importance or few in number; and therefore the argument against the necessity of a revised translation, founded upon the assumption that they are so, cannot be admitted.

Several instances of errors which in times past have materially influenced, and still do influence, certain doctrines held by our own and other Churches, will be presently cited; but apart from that view of the question it is obvious that our reception of the Christian religion, and our consequent obedience to its precepts, must depend mainly upon our conviction of its perfect morality and justice. Whenever, therefore, we are induced, by means of an inaccurate translation, to entertain an unworthy opinion of our Lord's justice and truth, by which is meant a lower opinion than we should otherwise have held, a grievous wrong is inflicted upon us, for which those who inflicted it, and still more those who have the means of redress, and refuse to use them, are accountable. Upon this subject I cannot refrain from quoting the following striking passage from Mr. Dewes' work:—"How long shall Christ be dishonoured, and His words, which have been the life and the light of the world ever since they were spoken, be defiled by such mistranslations as this? Surely no unprejudiced person can thoughtfully read over the passages where the word Gehenna occurs, without seeing that there is not in any one of them any justification for introducing the idea of hell. All who reverence the Blessed Son of Man, and would fain reverence His every word, must rejoice to

find that He never spoke the coarse and questionable words which the Authorized Version puts into His mouth. To thousands who read them they are a stumbling-block and offence, and probably every devout reader of Scripture would rejoice to believe, if only he could see reason for doing so, that such words never were spoken by Christ."

The errors in question are so numerous, and so various in kind and degree, that they seem to comprise almost every imperfection with which a translation can be afflicted,—a complication of disorders which could only be fitly described, if another elder D'Israeli should arise to describe the curiosities of Biblical literature. Sometimes the same word in the original is made to serve for two or even three very different meanings; and sometimes the same meaning is attributed to two and occasionally three essentially different words. Sometimes one passage is so rendered as to contradict some other in the immediate context, or elsewhere in Scripture; the definite article is throughout treated with supreme contempt; words which occur in the original are left unnoticed in the translation, and (by way of compensation) words occur in the translation of which no trace is to be found in the original; some passages are feebly rendered, while in others the sentiment is exaggerated, and thus in either case the true intention of the writer is imperfectly conveyed; occasionally, also, passages are so inaccurately rendered as to be quite unintelligible without reference to the original; for instance, the closing sentence in the marriage service, in which our brides are reminded that St. Peter represented wives as daughters of Sara,—only, however, so long as they *did well*, and were not afraid with *any amazement*.

As an illustration of what has been said, and not with any desire or pretension to deal fully with the subject, I shall cite a few instances only of these various inaccuracies. Mr. Dewes has done his work so well in this respect that little further need be said. Although he has cited upwards of forty cases of manifest and material error, he has only dealt with those which he had himself met with in his ordinary reading, without taking the trouble to search for more. I have followed the same

method, and only mention those instances which I remember to have noticed in reading the Greek Testament; of course the list might be very largely augmented.

The mistakes in question may perhaps be most conveniently considered under the following heads. *First*, those which have arisen either from the comparatively imperfect acquaintance of the translators with the original Greek, or from inadvertence and carelessness; and since it is almost impossible to distinguish clearly one of these classes from the other, they must be considered under one head. *Second*, those which have arisen from theological prejudice or bias, and which perhaps should be regarded as perversions rather than mistranslations. Besides these preventible causes of error, there are some which, although originally unavoidable, and such as are of necessity incident to every old translation, might long since have been corrected and still require correction, namely, those which are attributable to the changes from time to time occurring in the popular meaning and acceptance of certain words in our own language. Paradoxical as it may seem, in order that a translation should be preserved pure and accurate, it is essential that it should be revised and corrected from time to time, as otherwise it must of necessity soon cease to convey with certainty to the reader the true meaning of the author.

Before adverting to those errors which still require correction, we may here pause to notice one, which, although (in the reformed Church at least) it has long since been corrected, still bears its fruit, and in the ineffaceable traces of its presence affords a memorable example of the momentous results which may follow upon a casual and, at first sight, not very important mistranslation.

St. Augustine, who is said to have had no great knowledge of Greek, seems to have adopted an erroneous version of Rom. v. 12. Whether he was led into this by accepting the version of St. Ambrose to which he alludes, or whether he translated for himself; whether his theological bias influenced his translation, or the converse; it is not now material to consider. But certain it is, that in disregard of the true grammatical construction, and apparently in ignorance of the Greek

idiom, he rendered that sentence which we now translate "and so death passed upon all men *for that* (ἐφ' ᾧ) all have sinned," thus, "and so death passed upon all men *in whom*" (that is, in Adam) "all have sinned." Upon this error he grounded, or at least mainly defended, his famous dogma, that the whole human race was, in respect of its first ancestor's offence, a mass of corruption, "*massa illa corruptionis*;" that all had sinned in Adam, and thus all, in default of baptism (and also, as he said, in default of partaking of the Eucharist), were to be punished with never-ending torments for his offence, the guilt and the punishment being extended alike to infants and to abortive children. In answer to every objection to this doctrine we find him incessantly appealing to his erroneous rendering, "*Nam quid ait Apostolus in quo omnes peccaverunt.*" This is repeated not less than twenty times in one of his treatises, the *Epistola contra Julianum*; and in one of his later treatises (*Contra duas Epistolas Pelagianorum*), he entered into an elaborate argument to prove that his rendering was accurate, and the conclusions drawn from it well-founded, inasmuch as he said the word *quo* could not possibly refer either to death or sin, the Greek word for sin being feminine, and it being also obvious that the Apostle could not possibly have meant that all men had sinned *in death*; and as sin and death were the only other possible antecedents to the relative *quo*, it could only be taken to refer to the first man. As might be expected, with this opinion the error of translation upon which it was founded was long retained. Our own Wycliffe rendered the passage, "In whiche man all men synneden." From the Roman Catholic Church the doctrine, like some others, seems to have been accepted by our Reformers with but little examination or discussion, and notwithstanding that the error in translation has long been acknowledged and corrected, as it influenced Calvin's theology, so it still influences that of many of the Anglican clergy, one of whom has not hesitated to affirm that "Adam's sin was as truly the sin of every one of his posterity, as if it had been personally committed by him."<sup>a</sup>

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<sup>a</sup> Haldane *On the Romans*.



It would be foreign to the present purpose to consider here how far this belief is consistent with our knowledge of the Divine character and method as derived from other portions of Scripture. Suffice it to say that the doctrine as held and taught by St. Augustine was founded and persistently defended upon this misinterpretation of the Apostle's words, and thus the religious opinions of thousands, or it may be millions, of Christian men and women have, in a particular of no mean importance (since it relates to the dealings of the Creator with his creatures) been influenced, (may we not say injuriously influenced, since no error on such a subject can be other than injurious?) by a mis-translation of two seemingly insignificant Greek words. Who can say what would have been the result if St. Augustine had but read St. Paul aright? Errors which, if committed by any other person, might have been comparatively unimportant, become of the gravest consequence when influencing a man of such learning and ability and corresponding influence; for, as Jeremy Taylor, in his preface to the *Deus Justificatus*, has well said, "St. Paul's text must be understood by St. Austin's commentary, and St. Austin shall be heard *in all* because he spake against such men who in some things were not to be heard, and, after all, because his doctrine was taken for granted by ignorant ages, and being received so long was incorporated into the resolved doctrine of the Church with so great a firmness, it became almost a shame to examine what the world believed so unsuspectingly."

Bishop Middleton and other able scholars have repeatedly noticed the disregard of the definite article, which our translation uniformly exhibits. Yet, as Winer has observed, and as every one who considers the subject must admit, "It is utterly impossible that the article shall be omitted where it is decidedly necessary, or employed where it is decidedly superfluous or preposterous." In our Lord's Prayer the words which should be translated "*in the heavens*," are rendered *in heaven*; the article being omitted, and the singular number substituted for the plural. So "deliver us from *the* evil," is rendered "from evil." In numberless other instances the same omission occurs: *the* prayer is made—prayer; *the* faith—faith; *the* Christ—Christ; *the* God—God; *the* pinnacle of the temple—a pin-

nacle; etc.; and so constantly does this omission occur, that it would seem as if the translators found the definite article an inconvenience and accordingly rejected it.

The same indifference is shewn to the proper use of the demonstrative pronouns, and the adverbs. For instance, *ὡς* and *ὡςπερ* are words having very different meanings, and the difference is of no small importance. The former seems to have been used to denote a more exact, the latter an hypothetical resemblance: the one might perhaps be best rendered "*just as*," the other "*just as if*." Both words are repeatedly used by our Lord, and the Evangelists and Apostles, and both are invariably translated by the same English word "*as*;" and thus the precision and true meaning of the original are impaired or lost. If St. Paul used two different words,—one with the emphatic particle, and one without it,—surely it was with *some* intention of expressing a different sentiment.

In 1 Sam. xv. 11, this passage occurs, "It *repenteth* me that I have set up Saul to be king." In the twenty-ninth verse, "The strength of Israel will not lie nor repent: for he is not a man, that he should *repent*." The thirty-fifth verse, "The Lord *repented* that he had made Saul king over Israel." Turning to the Septuagint we find that in these passages three different Greek words, each having a distinct meaning from the others, are used, all of which have been translated by the same English words "*repent*" or "*repenteth*." It is needless for the present purpose to examine the meaning of these words critically; suffice it to say, that they might easily and properly have been rendered in such a sense as to avoid the unseemly contradiction which is now presented.

Another instance of the indiscriminate manner in which the word "*repentance*" is used may be found in Heb. xii. 17. The Apostle is there represented as saying that Esau "*found no place for repentance*" (*μεταβολας*), though he sought it carefully with tears. Now that Esau did repent (in the sense of grieving for what had been done) is evidenced by the "*exceeding great and bitter cry*," and the carefulness and tears of the narrative. That which he sought for and failed to find, was not a place for his own repentance, which, indeed, was never denied to any one, but a

place or opportunity for changing his father's resolution, which was the only matter then in question, and thus recovering the blessing of which he had been cruelly defrauded.

Another instance of apparent contradiction is found in Gal. vi. 2. We find it there said, that we are to bear *each other's* burthens, and immediately afterwards the Apostle is represented as saying that every man shall bear *his own* burthen. How can this be? Was the Apostle forgetful of what he had just written, or was he inconsistent? We turn to the original, and find that two essentially different words are used which our translators have rendered by the same English word "burthen;" but which might readily have been rendered in such a manner as to rescue these passages from the contradictions which they now exhibit.

1 Cor. iv. begins with the warning or exhortation—"Let a man so account of us as of the ministers of Christ." This is set forth as an abstract proposition quite disconnected from the preceding chapter. Turning to the original, however, we find the adverb *οὕτως* ("in this way" or "manner," "accordingly"), which the translators have not condescended to notice, but which was evidently designed to connect the passage with the preceding sentence, and to make it not an abstract proposition as it now appears, but a corollary or deduction from the concluding statement in the third chapter from which it ought never to have been disjoined. The word *so* is introduced in connection with the word *account*, in which sense it is not needed, nor is found in the original. Whatever the intention of the translators may have been, it is clear that the effect of their mistranslation has been in a certain sense to enhance the dignity and importance of the Apostolic office, and thence of the priesthood; and this evidently is the tendency of several of the passages which fall under our notice.

Thus in 2 Cor. vi. 1 we find the sentence, "We then as workers together *with him*"—the words "*with him*" not being found in the original, but are inserted in italics, as a suggestion of the translators; all interpolation which does not occur in the earlier translations. Nothing can justify such a method of dealing with the inspired writings. We want what *was* written, not what the translators thought *ought* to have been written.

We require the text, not their addition or explanation. Possibly the apostle may have intended to refer to Christ as a fellow-worker, but it is quite possible, and very probable that he had no such intention. No such sentiment is to be found elsewhere in his writings, and as the sentence was perfectly intelligible without this interpolation, it was needless and therefore improper to insert it.

The thirteenth verse of the second chapter of the Epistle to the Philippians is thus translated—"For it is God that worketh in you, to *will* and to do of his good pleasure." The word here rendered *will* is in the original θέλειν, which means to *wish*, or *desire*, rather than to decide or make an election, which is now the legitimate meaning of the word "to will," although perhaps it was not generally understood in this sense when the translation was made. It is clear that the word was here intended in the sense of desire or wish. The apostle emphatically points out two several things to be done, but the deciding to do a thing and the doing of it are in effect one and the same operation, whereas, as we know from experience, the wish to do of his good pleasure, and the doing of it, are two very different things, and the divine influence and assistance, here implied by the word worketh, are essential for one as well as the other.

Many instances might be cited in which the translators have done injustice to the original from imperfectly apprehending the meaning of it, or from adopting unsuitable expressions. Thus Agrippa's answer to Paul is strangely distorted when it is rendered, "*Almost* thou persuadest me to be a Christian." Clearly the meaning was something quite different. In short (or in little, ἐν ὀλίγῳ), you are persuading me, or trying to persuade me (instead of defending yourself) to become a Christian. The address of the gaoler to Paul and Silas is also quite misunderstood, when it is read as,—*Sirs*, what must I do to be saved? But the gaoler said (Κύριοι), Lords, or my lords, (the term which the apostles immediately afterwards apply to Christ himself), evidently shewing the awe and respect which he felt, in consequence of the wonderful miracle which had just before been wrought in their favour. Again, we are told that the Apostle's feet were made fast in the *stocks* (suggestive of the

village-green and lock-up). No such word is found in the original. On several occasions we meet with the homely expression, "*God forbid*," whereas no such words or sentiment are to be found in the text. We read also of the alabaster *box* of ointment, but there is no such word as *box*, nor any equivalent word in the Gospel. In Acts xii. 10, the iron gate is said to have "opened to them of HIS own accord," as though it were an intelligent creature. These and a vast number of inaccuracies of the same kind might easily be set right in an amended translation, although they are of themselves of far too slight a character to render a new translation necessary.

It remains to notice one or two examples, out of several which might be cited, of errors which may fairly be attributed to the *theology* of the translators; they seem, in some cases, to have fancied that the apostles *MUST* have meant what they themselves thought, and so they *made it so*; for instance, holding it as an article of faith, that man was to be regarded as a debased and degraded being, existing in a vastly inferior condition to that in which he was created, and for which he was designed, we find the following passage in their version of 1 Cor. ii. 14, "But the *natural* man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God, for they are foolishness unto him; neither can he know them, because they are *spiritually* discerned." But indeed the Apostle said nothing of the kind, for the words in the original (*ψυχικὸς δὲ ἄνθρωπος*) here rendered "the natural man," imply only the animal or sensual elements of man, as contrasted with the spiritual or intellectual, *both* of which go to make up, and are comprised in, the natural man. By this mistranslation, therefore, the force of the contrast which St. Paul intended to institute is impaired, or rather lost, since no contrast can properly be drawn between the natural, and the spiritual which is included in it. In the Vulgate these words are accurately rendered as "*animalis homo*." In Wycliffe's translation they are also correctly given, "the besteli (or bestial) man," the adjective "animal" not having then found its way into our language. How then did it happen that the original rendering was abandoned, and a new and incorrect version substituted? We can only account for such an unusual proceeding on the

hypothesis that Luther, with his opinions as to *Original Sin*, considered that the natural man could not be regarded as in any sense spiritual, and that the words natural, and animal, or beast-like, were to be treated as theological synonyms, however much they might differ philologically. He did not hesitate therefore to translate the phrase in question as “*Natürliche mensch.*” Tyndale, holding the same opinions, adopted the reading of his friend and ally, and all our later translators have followed in his steps. If indeed St. Paul had intended here to speak of the *natural* man, we must conclude that he would have used the only appropriate word (*φυσικός*). He *has* used that word in Rom. i. 26, 27, and St. Peter has also used it, and in those passages our translators have rendered it correctly by the word “*natural*,” thus involving themselves (here as elsewhere) in the absurdity of giving the same interpretation to two essentially different words.

In the same way in 1 Cor. xv., the words “*σῶμα ψυχικόν*,” which, in the Vulgate, are properly rendered, “*animale corpus*,” and by Wycliffe “*besteliche bodi*,” Luther makes “*Natürlicher leib*,” and Tyndale and his followers “*a natural body*.” In these attempts to improve upon St. Paul, his meaning is lost, and the vigour and beauty of the passage are much impaired.

It remains to consider one other instance, not indeed of mistranslation, but of the literal rendering of an idiomatic phrase certainly inconsistent with the translator’s usage in dealing with other like passages, and also calculated to convey an erroneous impression of the Apostle’s meaning. It occurs in the second chapter of the Epistle to the Ephesians, “*And were by nature the children of wrath, even as others.*” The expression “*children of wrath*,” (*τέκνα ὀργῆς*) is an idiom, probably an Hebraism, intended for want of any adjective of an equivalent meaning, and perhaps also for the sake of greater emphasis, to signify wrathful, or it may be proud or haughty, persons; wrath being one of those deadly sins against which this Apostle had warned his disciples. In precisely the same phrase, and again in the fifth chapter of this Epistle, and also in that to the Colossians, he speaks of *disobedient* persons, calling them “*children of disobedience.*” But when an idiom comes to

be translated literally, it can hardly fail to lead to confusion ; and the phrase in question is an illustration of this mischief. These words have been long understood, and still are understood, in a sense in which it is hardly possible, judging from the context and from other passages of these Epistles, that they were intended. It can hardly be doubted that St. Paul designed to represent the persons spoken of, *figuratively*, as the children (as we now should say, by nearly the same figure, the slaves or subjects) of their own evil passion—wrath, but owing to the manner in which his words have been translated, they are frequently, indeed usually, understood and said to mean, that these persons were by nature,—*i.e.* born into the world, being, as Wycliffe says, “*bi kynde*,”—the product or offspring in a tropical sense, but practically the victims or objects, of the Divine wrath ; and that in respect of what St. Augustine terms the *hereditary* sin, and guilt of sin, derived from their first ancestor.

For indeed it is to St. Augustine that we must ascribe the long continuance of this error (if not its origin), as well as the doctrine, which, if not founded upon it, it has been constantly invoked to support. Casting about for authorities and texts from Scripture to aid him in his Pelagian controversies, this passage and that from Romans v. 13, already alluded to, are those upon which he almost entirely relies. One example out of many may suffice. In his treatise on Psalm lvii. he says, “Wherefore says the Apostle, ‘we were by nature the children of wrath even as others.’ What means by nature the children of wrath, unless because we carry with us the punishment of the first sin ?”

Holding the same doctrine, it is not surprising that Calvin and the Calvinists uniformly retained without scruple the authority on which it rested. Thus the very words are imported into the assembly’s larger catechism to be received in this sense as an article of faith. “The falle brought upon mankind the losse of communion with God, his displeasure and curse, so as we are by nature *children of wrath*, bond slaves of Satan,” etc. So firmly, indeed, had this view of the Apostle’s meaning become an article of faith, that the words “*of God*” are imported into the passage just as if they had actually occurred in the original, in the Homily of Edward VI.’s time, entitled, “*Of*

*the misery of all mankind, and of his condemnation to death everlasting by his own sin ;*" and "St. Paul in many places painteth us out in our colours, calling us the children of the *wrath of God*, when we be born." Faithful to the Augustinian and Calvinist traditions of the Anglican Church, our modern commentators have uniformly understood and represented this expression in the same sense. Thus Dean Alford says, "*Whose wrath is evident, the meaning being, we were all concluded under and born in sin, and are actual objects of that wrath of God which is his mind against sin.*"

Without reference to the merits or demerits of these opinions, and solely in the philological aspect of the question, it is impossible to acquit our translators of inconsistency in thus rendering this passage, and an inconsistency which seems attributable to their theology. This form of expression frequently occurs in the New Testament, but except when the meaning is perfectly clear, whatever form of translation be adopted (as in the instance of the children of disobedience, and one or two others), the translators have *invariably* rendered it, by substituting the adjective for the substantive in the genitive case of the original, and this too in those instances in which a Greek adjective existed, which might have been used by the Apostles, had they chosen to use it. Thus, "the judge of injustice" of the original, is translated "the unjust judge ;" as "the steward of injustice" is "the unjust steward ;" "the liberty of the glory" is "the glorious liberty ;" as "the gospel of the glory" is "the glorious gospel." "The gospel of the glory of Christ" is translated "the glorious gospel of Christ ;" "the power of his glory" is "his glorious power ;" "the appearing of the glory of the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ" is rendered "the glorious appearing," etc., and "the body of his glory" is rendered "his glorious body." To what cause then are we to attribute the translators' departure from their otherwise constant usage in the case of "*the children of wrath,*" unless it be to their unwillingness to destroy one of the principal authorities in favour of a particular dogma?

Our space will not allow of more than a brief notice of some of the most important and singular errors in the authorized version, those which relate to a condition of future punishment.



No one, however, who is at all acquainted with the original can be ignorant of the gross inaccuracies of the present version in this respect. Mr. Dewes has not failed to notice the inconsistency and impropriety of the manner in which these passages have been treated. The word "krisis," he says, is in forty-one instances translated accurately as "judgment," in three instances it is rendered "damnation," and in two "condemnation," while "krima" is fourteen times rendered "judgment," five times "damnation," and in five other instances "condemnation." Vast multitudes of Christian people are not, and never can be, conversant with the original, and in their interest, and for their sakes, an amended translation, published under competent authority, would be a pious and good work, even if it did no more than disabuse them of the mistakes into which they have been led as regards our Lord's teaching with reference to the punishments due to various offences. They would be greatly relieved and benefited, and would acquire a worthier and higher appreciation of our common faith, if they found that, although Christ and his Apostles did teach that he who should say to his brother "thou fool," rather than "raca," ("thou vain fellow,") or should partake unworthily of the Eucharist, or set himself in opposition to legally constituted authorities, and the widow who should desire to take a second husband, were highly blameable, and were to be "judged," or condemned; they did *not* say or mean that that judgment or condemnation should consist in that damnation which we now only understand as a condition of hopeless and fearful torment to endure for all eternity.

It is often said, in mitigation of the horror and anger which these mistranslations inspire, that when the translation was made, these words of fearful import ("damnation" and "hell") did not commonly bear the meaning which we now give them, but one much less emphatic and painful. If this were so, there would still be the same necessity for a revision; but, indeed, the statement is simply untrue. By reference to the Homilies of the time of Edward VI., or to the plays of Shakspeare and other dramatists of the Elizabethan era, as well as to many other writers of that date, we shall find abundant evidence that when

the translators did their work, and, indeed, long before their time, the words in question, in their popular acceptance, bore precisely the meaning which they now have. True, that many centuries earlier, and when the Apostles' Creed was composed, the word "hell" which is there found simply meant a covered or hidden place, like that Hades into which Virgil represents Æneas as descending,—the waiting-place beneath the altar of which St. John speaks. The word is, in fact, derived from the Saxon "helan," to cover; and at the present day a tiler or slater in Cornwall is known as a hellyer. For many centuries, however, this meaning of the word had been entirely lost, and when the authorized version was compiled, hell was only understood, as it now is, to be a place of unending torment reserved for impenitent sinners.

Seeing, then, that the defects of the authorized version are so numerous and so grave, to what cause are we to attribute the singular apathy which our prelates and clergy exhibit on the subject of revision? It certainly does not proceed from ignorance of the errors in question, or of their great importance; for the most eminent scholars and divines of our time have vied with each other in detecting them, and suggesting amendments. As little can their neglect be ascribed to any want of learning, or piety, or zeal, for they willingly and ably support societies which expend annually many thousands of pounds in circulating the Scriptures. But if it be right to disseminate these writings far and wide, if our Lord's injunctions to preach the Gospel to all nations be indeed binding upon us, surely it is right also to take heed that what we thus cast upon the waters is really bread—that we are spreading the knowledge of that which Christ and his apostles taught, and not of that which careless and comparatively ignorant translators supposed that they taught.

But if the neglect of the clergy generally is blameable, what shall we say or think of that large and influential section which insists on the literal inspiration of Scripture, and insists so strongly, that when one bishop lately ventured to point out a slight error in a question of natural history, another did not hesitate to compare his writings to the ravings of a fiend!

They say, "the Bible is none other than the *voice of Him that sitteth upon the throne!* Every book of it, every chapter of it, every verse of it, every word of it, every syllable of it (where are we to stop?), every letter of it, is the direct utterance of the Most High! The Bible is none other than the word of God—not some part of it more, some part of it less, but all alike the utterance of Him who sitteth upon the throne—absolute, faultless, unerring, supreme."

How little does the practice of those who hold this belief correspond with their profession? How criminal is their conduct if believing, as they say, that every syllable of the Scripture is the direct utterance of the Most High, they neglect to make the slightest effort to remove the imperfections by which the present version is confessedly obscured and impaired, that thus their people may know what these divine utterances really are.

Upon the whole, we are disposed to trace the unwillingness of the clergy to deal with this most important topic, partly to a lurking and probably well-founded suspicion, that an accurate, or more accurate, translation might tend to impair some doctrines which the Church has hitherto received and taught, and partly to a vague apprehension that the attachment of the common people to the Scriptures will be weakened, and their religious belief disturbed and perplexed, if they find that the book which they have been told was the express word of God was in some respects inaccurate.

It can hardly be doubted that some such inconvenience would arise, probably some little mischief; but these fade into perfect insignificance when compared with the great and lasting benefit that would ensue, and the satisfaction of performing a work so worthy of Christian men. For some time to come a revised translation would not be acceptable to the great majority of the people—a senseless cry would be raised against it, just as many years since an outcry arose, and a sedition was threatened, when a revision was made of the calendar. The people have been taught by an influential and earnest section of our clergy to idolize the Bible; and the first organized attempt to revise it by authority would almost be regarded as a sacrilege. But this clamour would soon subside, as all senseless clamour must;

every one who really *cared* for religion would gladly avail himself of every means of improving and correcting his knowledge of Scripture, and the opposition of others is not a thing to be dreaded.

In conclusion, if it be true, as, indeed, it must be and is admitted on all hands, that the time has arrived for a revised translation either of the whole Bible, or, in the first instance, of the New Testament only, the means of procuring it are not far to seek. Any such proceeding ought of course to originate with the Queen as supreme head of the Church; and if she were pleased to issue a commission for the purpose, the method of proceeding would be plain and easy. This course has been before suggested, and especially in an able paper on revision which was published in the *Edinburgh Review* for July, 1865. The commission might be directed to the archbishops, bishops, deans, and heads of houses, who would select from the Universities and from the great body of the clergy a sufficient number of able men, first, however, laying down certain general rules for their guidance. Every correction might then be submitted, first to a committee of the translators, and then to the Commissioners, and none should be allowed unless sanctioned by three-fourths of the members composing those bodies. If this work were done, and well done, it would add another to the long series of benefits and triumphs which has graced our Queen's reign; would that her Consort had survived to inaugurate a work in which he would have taken so much delight, and which, when accomplished, would have given him an additional claim to the love and gratitude of the nation.

J. W. F.

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**POSITIVISM.—THE PANTHEISM OF AUGUSTE COMTE.**

As we have already remarked, Pantheism has many phases, some racial, and some, we may add, almost individual. Generically Arian, it is susceptible of many subdivisions, whose specialities are obviously due, in part at least, to the peoples among whom or the ages in which they flourished. Thus, for example, the Christian Pantheism of modern Europe is something very different from the heathen Pantheism of classic antiquity, or the existing Pantheism of the Brahminical and Buddhistic priesthoods of Eastern Asia. Fundamentally identical, these intellectual creeds are, nevertheless, formally and superficially diverse. And carrying out these distinctions into yet greater detail, we may say that the Pantheism of France is different from that of Germany, while the Pantheism of Auguste Comte and the Positivists is something almost *sui generis* even among the Pantheistic schools of modern Gaul.

The especial distinction, the fundamental characteristic of Positivism is the prominency which it accords to its founder. In this it resembles the olden creeds of the East, rather than the modern systems of philosophy in the West. Upon the former, in accordance with the thoroughly autocratic character of the Orient, the personality of their prophet, whether a Moses or Mahomet, is stamped so indelibly, that the system must perish ere the impress can be removed, and the magnificent individuality of this moral architect cease to exist as a spiritual presence among the sons of men. We even see something of this, though in a very modified form, among the Pythagorians and Platonists of ancient Greece. In the purely religious sphere, this same phenomenon of a dominant personality was reproduced in the case of Ignatius Loyola and John Wesley, and to some extent also in that of George Fox, the founder of Quakerism. But the more philosophic systems of thought in modern Europe, such as that of Bacon or Locke, Hume or Kant, have generally rested on their own merits, quite independently of the individual specialities of their founder. This arises, in part, from the especially abstract character of modern thought in its higher phases, in virtue of

which principles supersede persons, and the truth is accepted rather on its own internal evidence than on the testimony of him who proclaims it. And in part, perhaps, from the levelling and republican spirit of an analytical age like the present, that dreads autocracy even in matters intellectual, and so is ever prone to assert the at least theoretical equality of all the citizens of a state, and all the followers of a doctrine.

But to this, the entire spirit of Positivism is directly opposed, wherever its founder is concerned. M. Comte was by nature an autocrat. He felt bound to command. Restrained, however, by the very nature of his subject-matter, from the full manifestation of this tendency in his systematization of the sciences, he gave it full play in the second phase of his career, when emerging from the modest and unpretending robe of the philosopher, he appeared before a somewhat astonished world in the mystic mantle of the prophet. Here M. Comte issues edicts, and propounds, not propositions for the discussion of his followers, but conclusions for their acceptance. Thinking apparently, with the first Napoleon, that processes are for the few, and results for the many, he gives us his decisions, without at all times condescending to reveal the data or the reasonings by which he has been induced to entertain them. The *tone* throughout is sacerdotal, even where the form is apparently philosophic. The utterances are those of a hierophant, filled with the full afflatus of a direct inspiration, who can afford to dispense with argument and exposition, and who obviously expects to bear down all opposition, not merely by the worth of his veracities, but the weight of his authority. Inevitably, where such a procedure is not sublime, it is ridiculous. Duly supported, whether by apparently miraculous deeds or superhuman endowments, such pretensions may command respect, even where they do not ensure reverence; but in the person of a crotchety savant like M. Comte, they were simply suggestive of oddity in the author, and absurdity in the system.

Hitherto, in all ages and countries, the would-be founder of a faith has laid claim to some share of light and power above his fellows. He has been a seer with his visions, or a healer with his cures. He has had mystic depths in his nature, which com-

mon minds could not fathom, and, as a result, utterances which they could not easily interpret. He has been a wonder-worker as well as an utterer of dark and terrible sayings, around whose memory myth and miracle have clung like the ivy to the oak. But of all this M. Comte knew nothing, and so with childish simplicity, that would have been pitiable if it had not been profane, he dared to announce himself, not circuitously and by implication, but directly and avowedly, as the founder of the new "religion of humanity."

And this religion itself, as may be supposed, coming from such a source, is a psychological curiosity of no ordinary kind. It reveals, indeed, a state of mind in the author, perhaps, almost unique in the experience of man. Here is a philosopher turned prophet, and because he has the necessary intellectual prerequisites for the former character, conceives himself fully justified in assuming the latter. Without any faith in God or immortality himself, he confidently proceeds to unfold his godless and cheerless creed, in the full assurance that it will supersede all the other religions of the world in the course of a single generation. Having no God, he sets up select humanity, the *grand Etre*, in his place. But the great and good, the wise and illustrious, are only to be *respected*. It is the beautiful who are to be *worshipped*. We may *reverence* men, but we must absolutely *adore* only women! Two hours daily does this glorious hierophant of a sublime foeminity set apart for his followers to expend in the pleasant, if not purifying and exalting, occupation of worshipping mother, wife, and daughter, as the incarnate past, present, and future. And he expressly commands that those among his followers who, in virtue of being lonely and desolate bachelors, or from any other mischance of time and circumstance, find themselves unprovided with the two latter prerequisites, shall incontinently adopt the same, substituting the wives and children of others, in place of their own, as the objects of this spiritual contemplation.

As may be supposed from such a beginning, his plan of society is not particularly exalted. His governments are republican, his aristocracy are capitalists, his priesthood are philosophers, and his workers are—slaves. All real power is to

be vested in the proprietors. The priesthood, being especially relegated to the rank and position of women, possessed of all proper *influence*, but rigidly excluded from the exercise of all formal *authority*. They are to be the pensioners of the state, paid by the capitalists, and owing their "influence," not to any legal recognition of their claims, but to the purity of their morals, the profundity of their attainments, and the grandeur of their intellectual endowments. Women, as we have said, are to be worshipped, but it is nowhere said they are to be obeyed, at least on compulsion. So the priests are to be respected; but, except in the public services of religion, they have no well recognized place of dignity and power. The workers are to be *paid*, and, in a sense, *consulted*—like the women and the philosophers—but like them, they have no constitutional vote in the choice of their governors, and no direct voice in the management of affairs. The "public opinion" of all three is to be allowed due weight in the councils of the executant *bankers*, to whose tender mercies, as the highest and most successful of all capitalists, it seems the state, with all its constituent members, and all its subordinate interests, is to be hopelessly and helplessly surrendered!

Such is M. Comte's utopia. To this complexion has French speculation on the infinite and the possible at last arrived. We are to have a world without God—a life without hope—a state without a king—and a society without nobles. But then we are to have peace without war, and wealth without poverty; we are to have trade without bankruptcies, and agriculture without famines: so at least says M. Comte. There is also another deliverance. We are to have no more great empires, no all-absorbing monarchies. M. Comte's model republics, like those of ancient Greece and modern Italy, are to have but a limited extent of territory. There are to be seventeen of them in France alone!

Nor are these the only advantages provided for us, under M. Comte's thoroughly paternal and philosophic arrangements. He proposes to take even genius itself under his all-pervading regulation. He thinks there are certain directions in which speculation and discovery should be discouraged. A part of



the duty of his priesthood of intellect will be to look after misguided poets and self-mystified philosophers. These erratic creatures, who now expend their energies so unprofitably, are to be gradually, yet surely, brought into subjection to M. Comte's ideas of the fitness and propriety of things; this most desirable result to be managed, not by force, but influence! As a befitting accompaniment to this, we have his *index expurgatorius*, in the form of a Positivist library, consisting of one hundred works of the best authors, to the perusal of which the majority of the faithful are recommended to confine themselves!

Now had all this childish nonsense been written, like Plato's republic or Sir Thomas Moore's *Utopia*, avowedly as the dream of a philosopher, the practical world might have passed on, and smiled with pity at the well-meaning twaddle of the learned author. But when in place of being thus propounded, simply as a fancy sketch of social possibilities, such a tissue of absurdities is gravely promulgated both by the author and his disciples as an authoritative part of the future religion of humanity, it is time that we should express our opinion both of M. Comte and his system in terms of condemnation not to be mistaken. On such a subject, at least, our trumpet should have no uncertain sound.

What then is this Positivist creed, this new religion of humanity, which its adherents regard with such unbounded admiration, and which they foolishly expect will supersede all the other and higher faiths which have preceded it? It is then, simply, the Papal phase of Arian Pantheism. It begins by dethroning God and setting up humanity in his place, and of this humanity it worships the feminine rather than the masculine manifestation. In other words, it is Catholicism devoid of duty, and so reduced to the adoration of the Virgin and the invocation of saints. Like Catholicism, it also professes sacerdotal subordination to a hierophant, in the case more immediately under consideration to M. Comte himself. In politics, it is simply the French republic, or rather the ideal of it, on a small scale, that is, a series of communities deprived of their hereditary monarch and nobility, and so presenting only the cheerless spectacle of merchants, manufacturers, and

bankers, with their subordinate artizans and labourers. So in matters intellectual, it is only a great college, shall we say the *École Polyte*, where promising youths are specially, yet effectually, trained for a particular profession. It does not treat human beings as men capable of self-direction, and having each his own individual inspiration, but, on the contrary, presumes on their immaturity, and obviously regards them as mere negative subject matter for its educational processes. Thus then we see that this famous system has not even the merit of originality. It is merely a faint echo in its several parts of the author's very limited personal experience. It displays, throughout, the most profound ignorance of those very subjects on which he should have been best informed. It ignores diversity of race, and expects that one rubric, again the Catholic, should suffice for the religious services of all mankind to the end of time. It ignores not only the laws, but, as regards the future, the very fact of human progress. It attempts to found a religion which is not a normal growth out of, a sequential development from its predecessor. And it most unwisely contemplates the permanent arrestment of humanity, at this the Comtian stage of its advancement.

Even as a philosophic speculation, such a system would be puerile in the extreme, would not, in very truth, be worth the paper on which it was printed. But when we find that it was seriously regarded by its author as the authoritative revelation of a new faith, for the moral and intellectual guidance of mankind to the end of time, it suggests serious doubts of his sanity. After every allowance for his utter ignorance of anthropology, and his very superficial acquaintance with history, it seems incredible that a sensible Parisian teacher should contemplate the supercession of Christianity and Mohammedanism by a godless creed, that dared not promise immortality, even to the most exalted of its believers. It is obvious that M. Comte did not understand that great and fundamental law of social progress, in virtue of which humanity never surrenders an idea, save in the process of adopting a greater; never gives up its faith in one veracity, till another and a higher be revealed to it.

But there is another and a yet direr solecism, of which M. Comte was guilty in the promulgation of such a system, and this is a breach of *continuity*. The religion which he announced was not a normal development of Christianity. It was not a farther unfolding of the theological idea into more luxuriant leafage and more beauteous blossom than before. It was not based on the old foundations, on the *rock* of ages. It ignores humanitarian tradition both in thought and action. It is not rooted in the past. It was not *generated*, but *made*. It is a work of (intellectual) art, not a natural production, the growth of the centuries, the inevitable product of events. The world could have done, and therefore will do, without it. It was not a necessity, as all, even approximative world religions, have ever been. It was, as we have said, a dream, and that, not of a true master spirit, a veritable Vates, but of a closet philosopher, whom solitude and neglect had made odd and exceptional, but scarcely great or original.

As a psychological phenomenon, M. Comte is certainly worthy of some attention. A cool, calculating mathematician, emerging into a world's prophet, is not a spectacle which humanity provides every day. A calm, inductive, philosopher, careful in the solution of his instances, and cautious in the deduction of his conclusions; familiar with facts, and acquainted with the laws on which they depend; accustomed to take nothing for granted, and never accepting a solution, save under the compulsion of unquestionable demonstration—is not exactly upon the surface of him the most promising subject for ecstatic lucidity. And yet the world saw this combination in Swedenborg, in whom the seer was induced upon the sage. But the speciality of M. Comte is, that he entered upon his sublime career as a religious founder, without any mysterious promptings, without any visional experiences, and in a state of mind wholly devoid of that high-wrought enthusiasm which we are accustomed to associate with the prophetic character. On the purely intellectual plan himself, he simply addresses the intellectual faculties of his hearers. His appeals are to the reason, not to the conscience. In short, his system, after all, is a philosophy, and not a religion.

But the inspired or insane phase of the matter still remains,

namely, his absurd claim to authority, and his unfounded expectation of success. His later utterances are magnificently autocratic. It is sufficient that he has said it. Heterodox himself, he will allow of no heterodoxy in others. Comtism is the final development of faith and philosophy, of literature and science.

He surpasses Hildebrand in his sacerdotal ambition. He transcends the Papacy at its maximum in his pretensions. He is not only an infallible oracle for the present, but the unerring guide of the future. He has measured the possibilities of man, and mapped out his path to the end of time. No lawgiver ever issued his decrees, no monarch ever published his edicts, with more of assured confidence, than poor M. Comte. He seems to have fancied that he had but to declare a belief in God and immortality unnecessary, and mankind would at once surrender their faith in these sustaining and consolatory doctrines at his bidding. So when he ordains two hours' worship daily to be offered to the women, it obviously never occurred to him that some, even of his disciples, might very legitimately question the propriety of such a procedure. And when, descending from doctrine and ritual to ecclesiastical organization, he decides that his hierarchy are to be pecuniarily dependant upon the temporal executive, and to be ineligible to all similar offices, save those connected with education, it had clearly never dawned upon him that hierarchies, when once well rooted, have their own laws of growth, their normal cycle of development, which is not always in accordance with the programme of their founder. So when he commands that the government should be republican in form, though virtually beaurocratic in constitution, he manifests an entire ignorance of the laws of national life; and of the vast forms which, in obedience to them, throw up special institutions at successive stages, as organic instrumentalities for the more effectual discharge of its necessary and appropriate functions.

Here indeed we return to the gravamen of our charge, and to the unquestionable proof of M. Comte's utter incompetence for his self-imposed and stupendous task of founding a world's faith with political and social institutions, and we may add, literary and artistic culture, in perfect accordance with its fundamental

doctrines. He ignores throughout the great principle of *growth*, not indeed as regards the past, but the future. Strange to say, his writings abound with allusions to, and even well selected illustrations of, the law of sequence, to which his own system is, nevertheless, in direct contradiction. He saw very clearly that Christianity was a higher and more effective development; in a sense, the blossom and the fruit of Judaism; yet he did not hesitate to ignore all its higher veracities, and go directly counter to all its more exalting tendencies, in the promulgation of his own especial faith (or rather, as we have said, *philosophy*). His whole scheme is simply one of *subtraction*. He proposes to deprive humanity of its most sustaining truths, to rob it of its most cheering hopes, and to leave it utterly devoid of its most ennobling motives. And he was so childish as to think this possible, and we may add, so mad as to deem it profitable. Poor creature, he seems to have fully persuaded himself that mankind would be the better for losing sight of God and their own immortality. Blind himself, he wished to involve the world in hopeless darkness, and come at last to regard the light of the sun as the curse of existence.

It is almost needless to say that the mere statement of such a system is its best and most effective refutation; it stands self-condemned. As a work of thought, it is puerile. As an attempt at religious edification, it is beneath contempt. Its conception is an indication of intellectual imbecility. Its promulgation was an act of insanity. But if so, then what are we to say to its *reception*? If we have this opinion of the founder, what are we to think of his disciples, or, not to be too severe on these gentlemen, what are we to think of the spirit of the age which prompted and, in some exceptional instances, accepted this nineteenth century version of "the religion of humanity."

"This then brings us to "the conclusion of the whole matter." What is Positivism? And we reply, it is the purely *intellectual* product of a predominantly literary and scientific age. It is the outcome of an especial literary and scientific people, and had therefore very properly as its mouthpiece a savant, and not a saint; a teacher of mathematics, and not a worker of miracles.

That even with these limitations, M. Comte was but a very unsatisfactory and inadequate embodiment of "the prophet of intellect," must be admitted. Leaving the moral nature of man out the question; omitting the lofty aspirations and irrepressible yearnings of this, the noblest portion of his being, as something altogether alien to the subject, and adjudging the Parisian philosopher simply by an intellectual standard, he was sadly deficient. He lacked the fiery eloquence, the deep pathos, the grandeur of conception and sublimity of thought, which attach to the true masters of intellect, whether in poetry or prose. In good sooth, he was simply a very respectable professor—simply that, and nothing more. He had no extraordinary depth of attainments, no unusual grasp of thought, no particular gift of insight. He was perhaps especially endowed with order and method. His "systematization of the sciences" was a success—of its kind. But with that, his merits, whatever they were, most assuredly ended. His invasion of the province of religion was merely a grave impertinence, which, however, should excite pity rather than indignation, as the product of a senility none the less marked because it was premature. But we have now finished with the would-be prophet of the Positive religion. And of the system itself, we will only say that it was in every way worthy of its founder, being a shallow and atheistic scheme of philosophy, that only a misguided madman could have promulgated as a substitute for religion.

J. W. JACKSON, F.A.S.L.

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**THE STATE OF PARTIES IN THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.**

A NATIONAL Church must be founded on the principles of comprehension. Christianity is many-sided. Had it not been so, it would have been unsuited to be the religion of human nature. It has, therefore, as many aspects as there are fundamental differences implanted in the mind of man by his Creator. Consequently, a Church ought to be as many-sided as Christianity itself.

This variety of aspect constitutes the essential difference between a Church and a sect. A sect strives to impart to Christianity the appearance of uniformity. It forms its conception of it in conformity with peculiar moral and intellectual conditions, and embodies it in narrow creeds expressing only one idea. In proportion as a Church does this, she loses her Catholic character, and becomes a sect.

The Church of England is comprehensive ; but in the mode in which she effects this she tends towards sectarianism. It was the intention of her founders to embrace a wide range of opinion within her bounds. But to effect this by adopting a uniform comprehensiveness of creed and formula was beyond the mental vision of the day. They sought to bring it about by inserting some of the favourite formulas of the leading parties in the same articles and liturgy. Thus all parties find within her much which pleases them, and not a little to make them uneasy.

The Church of England embraces within her bosom the widest possible varieties of opinion. The views held within her are no less varied than the wide extent of opinion maintained by the sects outside her pale. She shelters, in point of fact, nearly every possible form of belief lying between the doctrine of the Papal supremacy and the denial of the possibility of the miraculous, and between extreme sacramentalism and the lowest Churchmanship. Her wide comprehensiveness is her greatest glory. Her blot is the indirect and tortuous manner in which this is effected. Instead of alternately inserting passages to please opposite shades of opinion, on points where she intended to be

comprehensive she ought wholly to have abstained from attempting definition.

Amidst numbers of minor differences, we must consider her comprehensiveness as shadowed forth in the existence within her of three great parties—that of the High, the Low, and the Broad Church. The two first have mutually endeavoured to thrust out one another, and have subsequently coalesced for the purpose of excluding the third. The law has thrown its broad ægis of protection over all three.

It will be conceded by all, except the most furious partizans, that the attempt to expel either of those parties from her communion is now hopeless, if not undesirable. At any rate, it is evident that each of these parties is determined not to leave her, that the law will maintain them in the position which they have assumed, and that they are determined to find some mode of explaining her formularies, perhaps of explaining them away, so as to suit their own convictions.

But in her present condition she cannot help being the subject of constant party struggles. This is owing to the imperfect manner in which she has made herself comprehensive. She has lacked the courage to pronounce certain dogmas indifferent, and to refuse to define them; but she has introduced strong statements on one side, and counterbalanced them by contravening assertions on the other. One of her statements pleases the High, another the Low, and another the Broad Churchman. But she has forgotten that some of the views most pleasing to the one must be gall and wormwood to the other. This has compelled all parties to have recourse to a large amount of metaphysical hair-splitting, for the purpose of bringing a favourite dogma of an opposite party into unison with their own. The operation of welding together fire and water is useless and wearisome.

It was hardly possible that a Church could have been based on truly comprehensive principles at the time of the Reformation. A wide interval separated such a Church from the line of thought in which the Reformers had been brought up. Though they had shaken themselves clear of the forms of the old faith, they were still animated by the spirit of scholas-



ticism. They had never been led to question the omnipotence of the syllogism for the discovery of all truth, both in heaven and earth. Religious controversy was the one great employment for the mind of men; it even formed an important element in the calculations of politicians. Natural science was unborn. The limits of the human intellect were undetermined. A critical knowledge of history was unthought of. The possibility of discovery in the regions of ontology was fully believed in. The principles of toleration were yet in their cradle. To have refused to assume the appearance of attempting to embody in formal statements things which are now recognized as lying beyond the limit of the human understanding, would have been viewed as little short of heresy.

But such a mode of comprehension is no longer suited to the genius of the age. That spirit requires that what was in former times accomplished indirectly should be now done directly—not by inserting incongruous statements to please different classes of opinion, but by a careful removal of everything which clashes with the fundamental opinions of either of the great parties whom the Church intends to comprehend.

We assume it, therefore, to be a fact past question that each of the three great parties, whether we like their views or not, are firmly entrenched in the Church, and that the attempt of any of them to obtain exclusive possession is hopeless. If so, is it not better that this should be at once distinctly admitted and acted on? The time is come when each party should cease to take pleasure in impaling one another by retaining expressions which in their plain and obvious sense must jar with their convictions.

But the present mode of attaining comprehension is not only dangerous to peace, it is injurious to morals. It sets the clergy on inventing non-natural senses to explain away obvious things, which, if adopted and applied to the things of common life, would subvert mutual trust. This practice is only tolerated, because the questions in debate are in the region of the clouds. It is our purpose, therefore, briefly to examine into the great principles of religious comprehension.

We assert that the apostolic Church was a highly comprehensive Church. It contained within itself elements of thought

little, if at all, less widely divergent than those in the Church of England.

First, a large body of Christians, entertaining more or less of the peculiarities of Judaism, was contained within the Church. Compared with the Gentile Christians, the distinction between these two classes must have been wider than that which exists between the High and the Low Churchman at the present day. The Jewish Christian was the High Churchman of his times in his love for rites, ordinances, and external things. It is evident, both from the Acts and the Epistles, that the Jewish Christians retained a very considerable portion of their Judaism. St. Paul yielded to it in a degree which we should have hardly thought possible. Bold as a lion, when it threatened to convert Christianity into a Jewish sect, the great apostle submitted to observances which to him can have been hardly otherwise than burdensome. The man who pronounced days and times and festivals and outward observances to be void of spiritual reality, submitted to them for the sake of charity and peace. We cannot doubt from the perusal of St. James's Epistle that he viewed Christianity in a different aspect from St. Paul. But, provided a man did not seek to impose his views as necessary for salvation, Paul tolerated a large mass of Jewish practice, and consequently of the principles on which it rested. In these days the confession of Christian faith was a very simple one: "I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God."

Even the inability to receive many things which St. Paul decided on his apostolical authority did not unchurch a man. St. Paul has fully stated his views of the character of Judaism. But he did not insist that all the members of his Churches should hold precisely the same opinions as himself. Entertaining the views which he did respecting circumcision, his act of circumcising Timothy was one on which furious partizans would do well to meditate. It was a concession far greater than if a Low Churchman were to wear a cope. When Priscilla and Aquila took Apollos, and explained to him the way of the Lord more perfectly, he must have been in a state of mind which many in modern times would designate as

dark. Still there is not a hint that the apostolic Church would have thought him unfit for its communion. But the most remarkable feature in the apostolic Church is the fact, that direct inability to receive certain portions of the apostolic teaching did not exclude from Church membership.

St. Paul's complying with the advice of St. James at his last visit to Jerusalem, in undertaking the payment of the expenses of the Nazarite vow, was a most remarkable concession. That vow involved the necessity of offering several sacrifices. To these, therefore, he gave his sanction, although he had proclaimed all sacrifice worthless in a religious point of view, having been superseded by the great Sacrifice of the Cross. St. Paul doubtless viewed his act as a concession to the weakness of others. A Judaizing Christian might easily view it as an abandonment of principle. Those whose orthodoxy is so staunch that they can never yield a point to the infirmity of others, would do well to meditate on the example of the Apostle.

The Epistle to the Corinthians presents us with another most remarkable circumstance. There were persons in the communion of that Church who denied the literal truth of the resurrection of the dead. While in this same Epistle the apostle gives an express direction that the person who had been guilty of incest should be excluded from Church membership, he reasons and expostulates with the holders of this serious doctrinal error, but nowhere directs their excommunication.

We are not informed what were the precise grounds on which he delivered Hymeneus and Alexander to Satan. He tells us, however, that they had put away a good conscience, and as a consequence of their moral turpitude, they had fallen into religious error. The Apostle does not found his excommunication simply on their mistaken views of doctrine, but on immorality, which led them to make shipwreck of the faith.

But the Apostle has stated in express terms the principles on which Christian comprehension ought to be based—principles which are greatly ignored by existing Churches and sects. We will briefly examine them.

In the Apostolic Church three questions had the effect of disturbing the consciences of the scrupulous—the eating of

certain kinds of food—the observance as matters of religious obligation of particular days—and the intercourse of Christians with heathens, so as not to be guilty of the sin of idolatry. Although the special circumstances which originated these difficulties have passed away, the great principles which St. Paul lays down are applicable for all time to similar circumstances, and contain the foundation of all religious comprehension.

In proceeding to solve these question the apostle declares that Christianity announces one great governing principle—the Lordship of Christ over the human conscience, and the fact that the Christian, whether in life or death, is Christ's purchased property. All questions of duty and religious toleration must be determined by the light of this great principle.

According to St. Paul a Christian's conscience ought to be the supreme arbiter of his conduct. He may have either an enlightened or an unenlightened conscience; but whichever it may be, to him its decrees are binding. To act contrary to the dictates of even an unenlightened conscience is a sin. The Apostle even contemplated the possibility of an unenlightened conscience being unable to submit to declarations of truth made on his own apostolical authority. Still, he saw in this no reason for casting such a weak Christian out of the Church. With the general views entertained of inspiration we should have expected, when an Apostle gave judgment on a certain point, that an apostolic decision would have put an end to all further question. Such, however, was not the case, and the Apostle goes so far as to enjoin that a conscientious scruple on certain subjects should be respected even when it interfered with his own decisions.

On the three points which occasioned the difficulty, the Apostle pronounces a clear judgment. The Gospel knows of no relative sanctity of one day above another; every kind of meat may be eaten; no distinction of food has the smallest religious importance; meat makes a man neither the better or the worse; an idol is nothing in the world, but there is none other God but one.

A Christian, therefore, according to the Apostle's decision,

might boldly eat meat which had been offered to an idol without incurring the smallest amount of moral pollution. Nothing was unclean of itself. No creature of God was to be rejected if eaten with thanksgiving. This was his decision and persuasion by the Lord Jesus.

But there were weak brethren in the Church who on such points were unable to acquiesce in even the declaration of an Apostle. Does he, therefore, unchurch them? No; he not only directed that their scruples were to be respected, but he asserts that to wound their weak consciences by doing acts which might embolden them to do what they were conscientiously convinced was wrong, was to sin against Christ. The man, therefore, who in the fulness of apostolic light pronounced all such distinctions to be utterly void of religious obligation, declares that sooner than be the occasion of tempting a weak brother, he would not enforce his own views, but would abstain from eating animal food altogether.

In the same manner with respect to days, the Apostle declared that all distinctions between them in a religious point of view were done away in Christ. But notwithstanding this decision every one was to be fully persuaded in his own mind, and to be suffered to act accordingly. But while conceding this liberty, he strenuously insisted that, whether the day was regarded or disregarded, it was to be done as to the Lord. On this condition the unenlightened Christian was to tolerate the enlightened one in his disregard of days, and the enlightened Christian was not to condemn the unenlightened one as superstitious in observing them. All such questions were to be open ones in the Church, and not to be made points involving communion.

The following are great apostolic principles of comprehension. Matters in their own nature indifferent are not to be enforced as grounds of Church communion. Every one is to please his neighbour for his good to edification. The strong are to bear the infirmities of the weak, and not to please themselves. While Christ reigns in each Christian's conscience, he is to be allowed freedom on all minor points.

It is impossible to read the Epistles and the Acts without

seeing that numbers of sects, in the sense in which the High, the Low, and the Broad Church are sects, were tolerated in the Christian Church, and that the greatest care was taken, and concessions were made, not to wound their respective prejudices. Their different modes of viewing things arose out of the influence of early education, or fundamental differences in the human mind. Such influences render it impossible that all men should see all things everywhere alike. St. Paul felt that there was something in Christianity higher than these differences, and that in comparison with it, they were to be viewed as nothing. The Jewish Christian, as the high churchman of his day, could attach a deep importance to holy days and outward observances. This the Apostles tolerated. They did not forbid him to take part in his national observances, utterly abrogated as they were by Christianity. The Gentile had his prejudices, derived from previous habits of life and thought. The man of large and more philosophic mind would make light of all these minor points, from which others could not divest themselves. The Apostle asserts for all the principle of universal toleration in subordination to the admission by all of the universal lordship of Christ.

It follows, therefore, that the Christian Church is a unity growing out of diversity. This unity is created not by destroying differences, but by tolerating them in subjection to Christ's lordship. Unity did not consist in the reduction of all thought and feeling to a dead level, nor was it created by issuing edicts reducing the variety which is inseparable from the human mind to one dull uniformity. The essence of Christian unity was preserved by what, in modern times, has been designated by the invidious term of compromise, but which in apostolic language means enlightened Christian charity. The presence of this spirit creates a church; its absence a sect. True Catholicity consists not in extension in time and space, but in the existence of unity in the midst of diversity; in the toleration of the peculiarities of every kindred, and tongue, and people, and nation as they have been implanted by the Creator, and by their being cemented into a unity by the blood of the Lamb.

This spirit of comprehension in practice exists more widely

in the Church of England than in any Church in Christendom. She contains within her many sects, which struggle for the mastery. Nothing would be more unfortunate than if they could succeed in impressing on her the principles of their own exclusiveness. As far as she embodies unity in diversity, she can well afford to look with indifference on the taunts of the sects outside her pale.

But in carrying out this comprehension, she has hit on a set of expedients instead of openly maintaining it as a great principle. This tends to perpetuate the battle of the sects within her. It puts into the hands of each some favourite Shibboleth, with which to taunt and insult the other, instead of supplying the means of covering their common differences by the veil of charity. She has frequently employed formularies in which all parties within her can heartily join. But to this there are numerous exceptions. There are also several cases where, under the temporary predominance of a party, the apostolic rule has been wantonly violated.

Two noted instances of this have occurred in her past history in her mode of dealing with things indifferent. Need it be said that we allude to enforcing the sign of the cross in baptism, and the posture of kneeling at the communion even on reluctant consciences. Both these questions are, in their essential nature, perfectly indifferent. The Church herself asserts that they are so, but she declares her right to enforce them by authority. Now what do the principles laid down by St. Paul enjoin respecting the circumstances in which the Church has been placed in previous periods of her history? Would the apostle have enforced these practices on reluctant dissidents? We answer, No.

Respecting things which are indifferent, the apostolic rule is plain. They ought not to be enforced on reluctant consciences; if a man is firmly persuaded that a practice which even an apostle pronounced indifferent, involves a violation of his conscience, St. Paul enjoins that even his own views are not to be enforced on a weak brother. Let it be conceded that those who made the attitude of kneeling, or the sign of the cross, a matter of importance, were weak brethren. But can it be

doubted, if the case had come before the apostle, that he would have decided in precisely the same manner as he has about days and meats. He would have said, He that regards the sign of the cross, or the attitude of kneeling, regards it to the Lord; and he who disregards them, to the Lord he disregards them. He would unquestionably have ruled that the weak brother was not to impose his views on the strong; nor the strong on the weak. Each would have been directed to pursue their own practice without violating the bond of peace. But in the case of the sign of the cross, the conduct of the dominant party in the Church was a striking violation of the apostolic principle. While she holds that it is no part of the Sacrament of Baptism, to all practical purposes she tacks it on as an addition to it. Even while doing so, she proclaims it to be non-essential, and only a significant emblem. But while she uses this language, she invariably unites it in her practice with the administration of the Sacrament, and thus says to every conscientious objector, Though our Lord enjoins nothing of the kind; if you refuse to submit, you shall be denied the sacrament by which you are made a member of the Church of God.

We have selected these two cases, because not only do we ourselves view these two ceremonies as perfectly indifferent, but the Church herself has asserted that they are so. It is obvious that the principles laid down by St. Paul require that they should have been left open questions. Both parties should have been allowed each to follow their own views. But the spirit of sectarianism induced her to take a different and disastrous course.

If St. Paul, in such cases, did not make his superior light a measure for the practice of weaker brethren; if he did not in similar cases enforce his own decisions, much more ought the Church to have acted on the principle, "Why dost thou judge thy brother? and why dost thou set at nought thy brother, for we must all stand before the judgment seat of Christ?"

The principle of mutual toleration ought to be the pole star of the Church. It is a principle which can be carried out practically. This has been effected in the service for the administration of the Communion, with the solitary exception to which we have alluded.



There is no subject on which the members of the Church of England have been, and still are, more widely divided in opinion than in their views as to the precise nature of the Sacrament of our Lord's Supper. She ever has had, and still contains within her, every variety of opinion between views nearly approaching transubstantiation and the lowest forms of Zwingleism. Still her sacramental service is viewed with nearly equal acceptance, and felt to be equally beautiful by classes of opinion thus widely divergent. From this universality of acquiescence we must except the extreme Catholic movement now active within her. This party evidently views the Communion office as meagre. This is proved by their attempts to supplement it by a large infusion of unauthorized hymns, by which views are imported into it which cannot be found in the service itself, and as the whole service in their hands is musical, these hymns become, in their mode of celebration, an integral portion of the service.

But, with the exception of this extreme party, the service has been felt by that immense divergency of opinion which has sheltered itself within the Church of England to be a liturgy suited to their wants. Even a large portion of the sects outside the Church admit its excellence. It is plain, therefore, that if the proper means are used, Christians of great divergency of opinion may be united in a devotional service in which they can cordially agree.

Now what is it which renders the sacramental service thus acceptable to men of the utmost divergency of opinion? We answer, the intense depth of its devotion, its avoiding rocks of offence by not adopting the language of a party, and the existence of the spirit of compromise. Of the latter, we have a most successful instance in the words in which the bread and wine are administered. Their history is well known. Fanatics will assert that they display the worst spirit of compromise. We think that they are based on the true spirit of comprehension. The form in the first service book asserted the doctrine of the real Presence; that in the second was equally strong in favour of its being a simple memorial. These discordant views, each symbolizing the opinions of a sect, have done

what many men and women of apparently opposite characters and tastes have succeeded in accomplishing. They have become united in a happy marriage, and their diversity has been mutually pleasing. Thus the dogmas of two sects which, had they remained separate, would have caused an endless fend, by having been brought into close proximity, have lived in harmony and peace.

It will hardly be urged that the divergency of opinion respecting the effects of baptism is greater than the questions in controversy respecting the other Sacrament. Why, then, is it that the baptismal service is the subject of endless wrangling, and has threatened to produce a schism? We answer, because it celebrates no such marriage union between the dogmas of different parties. Is the one more difficult to accomplish than the other? We cannot think so. This service breathes an equal depth of pure devotion as that for the Communion. But it contains two or three sentences which are the Shibboleths of sectarian dogmatism. If we were to insert into the Communion office one or two sentences of a similar character, it might be made equally offensive to one or other of the great parties whom the Church designs to include within her pale. The right mode of preserving unity would be to substitute a form of words which would unite the views of both parties, on the same principle on which this is effected in the other office.

Now, as each of the three great parties is, by legal decision, firmly entrenched in the Church of England, and as each is determined to maintain its position there, it becomes a question well worthy of the consideration of each, whether policy at least does not suggest the desirableness of converting a state of chronic warfare, in which victory is impossible, into one of permanent peace, by adopting the principles of comprehension on which the Apostolic Church was constituted. It has long been a doctrine, now happily on the eve of being exploded, that near neighbourhood converts men into deadly enemies. We are at last becoming sensible that such neighbourhood was not intended to render a state of warfare permanent, but for the promotion of the blessings of commerce and social intercourse. Englishmen are getting aware, although their own national character may be even the greatest in the world, that an incorporation of some of the

customs and habits of others might make it a nearer approximation to perfection. Let us hope that these discoveries in politics may be applicable to religion. We trust that a time is dawning when it will be felt that religion was not intended to cause a perpetual warfare among those whose opinions may be divergent from one another; that truth is not necessarily the sole inheritance of a single sect; that in abstract questions there are more ways of viewing things than one; and that there may be blessings which the Creator has intended to effect by forming men with such different mental endowments that they cannot view anything in the same aspect.

The present state of things produces two evils which exert an injurious influence on the character of the clergy. All parties, in the existing state of our formularies, are obliged to have recourse to non-natural senses to help them out of their difficulties; and to invoke the aid of a mass of metaphysical hair-splitting in their exposition of dogmas;—things which are as injurious to a healthy state of moral feeling as were the endless genealogies and old-wives' fables against which St. Paul cautioned Timothy.

It is hard to write with patience of non-natural modes of interpretation, which in proportion as the connection between certain classes of dogmas become more and more apparent, are more necessary to bring a truth which is really a portion of one dogmatic system, into unison with that which forms a portion of another. The best mode of forming an estimate of their character and effect is to conceive of them as applied to the ordinary transactions of life. With a tradesman, a non-natural interpretation means short weight and short measure, or a bad article. In the share market it means the wilful concealment of truth. In common conversation it is an imitation of the falsehood of Ananias and Saphira, for their lie was only the non-natural statement of a truth. They sold the land for the sum stated by them; they only forgot to add that they received so much more. When the clergy are driven to a mass of non-natural interpretations, their moral deterioration is an event not very remote.

The necessity of being obliged to invoke the aid of unsubstantial metaphysics to enable us to maintain our position is a

no less humiliating labour. It draws men's attention to the mint, the anise, and the cummin, and makes them forget the weightier matters of the law. Had not Mr. Gorham felt himself severely pressed, the most perverse ingenuity would have hardly thought of inventing his theory of prevenient grace. Speculations on both sides of this question are more fruitless than the sand on the ocean shore, and less productive of result than the attempt to polish a cannon ball.

We have, therefore, a hearty sympathy with Lord Ebury in his abstract principle of Church reform; but we fear that he errs in the mode of accomplishing it. Church reform which is one-sided will not only be impossible, but a questionable good. It must be effected, if accomplished at all, on the principles of forbearance and mutual toleration of the parties whom the law recognizes within the Church, or, if you please to use the modern term, on the principle of compromise.

Such is the only mode of adjusting differences where victory is impossible. It is, perhaps, useless to preach to the spirit of partizanship the duty of forbearance. Parties are ready enough to counsel it as far as it affects themselves: to take all, and give nothing in return. In religious contests it meets with much the same fate which virtue did in the days of the old satirist—*"Laudatur et alget."* To the dogmatism of party, the sight of an adversary struggling in agony between the horns of a dilemma always has been and ever will be the greatest of luxuries. But even the pleasure arising from such a feast is somewhat diminished, if we can be made aware that it can only be enjoyed by our undergoing in turn a similar crucifixion. No doubt that to devour an enemy is a great source of enjoyment to the savage; but his sense of satisfaction will be diminished, when it becomes evident that, if he will indulge in such luxuries, he must be eaten in return. Such is the state of parties in the Church. Even the spirit of partizanship, with which the duty of charity will weigh but little, may yet be made to feel it desirable to be set free from this mutual inconvenience. How then can this be accomplished? We answer on the principle of mutual concession. Let all the great parties in the Church make up their minds to concede something which offends

others, and to receive in return the concession of something which offends them.

The stronghold of the High Church party is the occasional services of the Prayer Book; that of the Evangelical, the Articles; that of the Broad Church, the existence in the formularies, of statements which are logically contradictory. As each party is established in the Church, it may be worth while for them to consider whether it is not as well to renounce the practice of attempting to devour one another, on the mutual understanding that they shall not be themselves devoured. Not being able to agree, let them agree to differ.

For the purpose of being practical, we will make a few suggestions. After the most liberal invocation of the aid of metaphysical hair-splitting, the baptismal service with its adjuncts can hardly help being offensive to men of strong evangelical views. Clergymen may succeed in explaining it away, but very few laymen can. Laymen, however, are only compelled to use it occasionally, and, therefore, they feel less sympathy for their deeply-tried clerical brother. Still no evangelical, if he had had the option, would have expressed himself in the terms of the service; and we cannot help thinking that, after all explanations, it forms an ulcer which secretly gnaws on the evangelical conscience, or in time makes it callous.

In a similar manner Article XVII. forms an offence to men who hold Arminian views, *i. e.* to the great majority of the clergy. As a consequence, various attempts have been made to explain away its strong language—a language which becomes all the stronger, when it is taken in connection with other articles. If white cannot be represented as black, it may be possible to persuade those whose vision of colours is somewhat imperfect that it is grey. Such attempts ever will be made to get rid of the language of narrow dogmatism, when parties opposed to its decisions are determined to maintain their position in the Church. But with what a sacrifice of honest principle is this effected. It is only because the religious world cannot be pinned down to the hard regions of fact, that the existence of such principles does not produce a constant panic of infidelity. In the present order of things, two professions, while they do

much which is useful, are frequently condemned by the force of circumstances to do a great deal of dirty work. Lawyers are forced to expend much time in explaining away the natural meaning of things temporal, and clergymen of things spiritual.

Now what we propose is this.—Let Article XVII. be offered by the evangelical party as a set-off to the Arminian party against the strong expressions of the Baptismal Service. If the terms are considered not quite fair by either party, it will be very easy to add to them on either side. We are only contending for the principle. Our own opinion is that the bargain would be no bad one. We should thus get rid of what strikes a person standing outside the controversy as a great scandal.

In making a concession of this kind, neither party is asked to renounce their own opinions. The extremest Calvinist may still retain all his Calvinism; the highest Churchman, the fullness of his sacramental theory. All which is required is, that each should be willing to abstain from thrusting what is offensive in the face of the other. As each party is in the Church, and means to continue there, why do they continue to throw stones at each other's glass house?

We shall hear the old cry, We must not concede truth for even the purpose of obtaining peace. We answer, The concession is made already as far as the Church is concerned, for she has decided that her house is large enough to contain the Calvinist, the Arminian, the High and the Broad Churchman. It is no longer a question whether these different phases of opinion shall find entertainment within her. That has already been decided. The real point must not be kept out of view. It is this:—She has invited them all to an entertainment, and provided them with seats. The seats have not been examined for a long time. The workmen who made them have left some pins in them, which disturb the equanimity of the happy party. The real point at issue is, shall not each guest consent to remove the pin which harasses his neighbour, on condition of having that which troubles him extracted likewise. The Church tolerates these opposite opinions. The only ground which she can take

is, that there is something in Christianity higher than them all. She decides, therefore, that there is some Shibboleth in each creed which is not of the essence of Christianity. Having decided that men of each party are her legitimate children, will she not do well to remove from her house those articles of furniture whose chief use is to afford to the wrong-tempered among her children the means of teasing and irritating each other?

The communion office makes it evident that such concessions need not involve sacrifices of opinion. All parties who concur in extolling this service still retain their respective dogmas. We would reform the baptismal office on the same principle, by uniting together different dogmas in a form of words which will harmonize both. The second sentence in the prayer following the act of Baptism already unites both views. We apprehend that it is not objectionable to any party. The only modification required is in the words of the first sentence. The declaration after baptism may be readily altered as follows. Instead of the words, "Forasmuch as this child is regenerate and grafted into the Church," we would substitute, "Forasmuch as this child has been made partaker of all the benefits conveyed by the Sacrament of Baptism." Thus we should avoid the definite dogmatism of either party. The High Churchman might still remain in undisturbed possession of all his theories on the subject of baptism. The sacrifice which he is asked to make is one which requires no unattainable amount of Christian charity. It is only to abstain from putting into the mouth of an Evangelical Churchman his peculiar metaphysical opinions in a thanksgiving addressed to that Father who, as St. Paul declares, will receive his sincere, though it may be weak, brother, when that brother is equally willing to remove a stumbling block which grieves the other.

Such are the principles which we would apply to heal the wounds which ulcerate the different parties in the Church. The principle, if once conceded, is one of easy application. It is evident that a very moderate amount of mutual concession would cure all the chief sores. Let each party surrender for something objectionable to itself something which grieves another, and the work is done. If any balance remains afterwards, will

it be too much to hope that some small matter may be conceded in the name of the God of peace and love ?

One concession, before we close, we wish to ask to be made in favour of the Broad Church party ; and if they have no precise equivalent to offer, we would ask it in the name of our common Lord. We need hardly say that this concession is, if not the entire Athanasian Creed, at least its damnatory clauses. The continued existence of these within the four corners of the Prayer Book is a strong proof that the progress of charity is impeded by lameness in both her legs. A preponderating majority of Churchmen ignore the Creed. Eminent theologians have pronounced that the Church would be well quit of it. Our sister Episcopal Church in America has removed the scandal. Still it remains in the Church of England. Even its damnatory clauses are rehearsed thirteen times in the year to the confusion of our faces.

We are not going to discuss the abstract truth or falsehood of the Creed. It belongs to an order of thought which will never be renewed. It is an attempt to define the Infinite in terms of human thought. It belongs to the regions, not of theology, but of metaphysics.

To give an illustration. The Creed attempts to define, in the terms of human thought, the mode in which the second and third persons of the Trinity are derived from the first. The relationship between the third and the first and second persons it defines by the term "procession." The thought seems never to have crossed the minds of the metaphysicians of the day that such terms cannot be measures of the infinite existence of God. The Holy Spirit in the mode of his existence is defined by the Creed as "neither made, nor created, nor begotten, but proceeding." Our Lord, in St. John's Gospel, has made certain statements as to the communication of the Divine Spirit to the Church. These the disputants of the time converted into ontological realities. They designated the derived mode of the existence of the Spirit as a "procession," and attempted to distinguish between it and the idea of filiation. The term is a creation of the human mind ; and if it denotes anything, it can only denote a peculiar mode in which the mind views finite



things, and not an ontological reality. It is derived from the conception of a stream issuing from a fountain. With such a line the metaphysical theology of the day thought it could gauge the depths of Godhead.

The term "procession," as a notion distinct from filiation, conveys no conception to the mind. It is a word, and nothing more. Several such conceptions are found in the Creed. They are neither false nor true, but meaningless. For this reason, therefore, we plead for its removal; not because we entertain doubts respecting the Deity of our Lord, or of the Spirit. The whole subject belongs to a class of barren speculations, which have not the remotest bearing on the heart of man, not to Christianity, but to the domains of scientific thought. But if we cannot persuade its admirers to give up the Creed, we shall be content that it be read and immediately forgotten, if we can persuade them to give up its damnable clauses.

We are aware of the various methods by which they are attempted to be explained away. Their naked meaning is such that everybody in the present day is obliged to adopt some method of getting rid of them. It is said, possibly with truth, that the Church only accepts them as applicable to holding the doctrine of the Trinity. If this be so, then, in the name of heaven, let its intentions be expressed in terms obvious and plain, and not by the words "Which faith, except a man do keep whole and undefiled, without doubt he shall perish everlastingly. And the Catholic faith is this," etc., etc.; and then, after giving twenty-five of the minutest metaphysical definitions, again to wind up with the assertion, "He therefore that will be saved, must thus think of the Trinity." The ordinary understanding cannot help reading the Creed as condemning to everlasting damnation every one who is unable to acquiesce in each of these twenty-five definitions, and it is only by assigning a non-natural meaning to the words that such meaning is evaded. Then again, seven close metaphysical definitions of our Lord's divine person are introduced by the assertion, "Furthermore it is necessary to everlasting salvation, that he also believe rightly the incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ. For the right faith is," etc., etc.; and

concluded by the declaration, "This is the Catholic faith, which except a man believe faithfully he cannot be saved."

Whatever explanation may be put on these expressions, or in whatever sense the Church receives them, it is evident that, to ninety-nine persons out of a hundred, their natural meaning can only be, that every person who does not believe each versicle of the Creed will be damned. This is certainly a terrible representation to give of the merciful Jesus. The best thing which can happen is, that our ordinary congregations should hear it read and attach no meaning to it. This we devoutly hope is generally the case, except when we see that an intelligent appreciation of it leads our laity to sit down during its repetition, as a token of disrespect.

We are wearied of being obliged to accept certain theological formularies in a particular sense. The frequent necessity which is imposed on the theologian of doing this, is one most profoundly humiliating. Whatever is intended to be asserted, let it be said in language which cannot be misunderstood. It is a bitter complaint of the present day, and one which is very just, that a theological party has arisen who, by the use of non-natural senses, can put any meaning on our formularies. It is true that this party has carried the principle of non-natural senses to its extremest limits. But are they the authors of such a mode of interpretation? Have not all parties invoked its aid when it suited their convenience? Does not everybody apply the principle to help him with respect to the damnatory clauses of this Creed? When we attempt to take the beam out of the eye of extreme Ritualists, let all parties agree at the same time to remove the splinter out of their own. When we shall have ceased to accept doctrinal statements in a particular sense, our spiritual vision will be improved.

But if it be admitted that the Church puts a non-natural sense on the damnatory clauses, and accepts them only as referring to the doctrine of the Trinity, still there is no getting over the fact that the Creed asserts, "which faith, except a man do keep whole and undefiled, without doubt he shall perish everlastingly." Is there then no such thing as intellectual weakness possible? Is the smallest deviation from orthodoxy necessarily

a wilful sin, which even the All-merciful cannot pardon? Surely in using such language the Church is usurping the place of Him who alone can define the precise limits between intellectual infirmity and moral guilt. One sentence of St. Paul ought to have induced the Church long ago to expel these clauses from her formularies: "Wherefore, judge nothing before the time until the Lord come, who shall bring to light the hidden things of darkness, and make manifest the counsels of the heart."

Two or three of the articles contain statements which no one, now-a-day, would think of imposing on others as grounds of communion. Theologians have had a zeal for making the condemnation of every transitory error an article of faith. To what purpose is it to obtrude on the conscience a dogmatical assertion that it is lawful to carry arms? Why because certain Anabaptists, three hundred years ago, asserted a belief in the commodity of goods, is a declaration of belief that their views were erroneous to be made an article of faith? If the condemnation of every religious and political heresy which has arisen had been made a portion of the Church's creed, instead of having Thirty-nine Articles, we should have been called on to testify our assent to one hundred times as many. We might with far greater propriety require a condemnation of the Mormons than of the Anabaptists.

Confessions of faith ought not to contain an assertion of every conceivable thing which is true, or a denial of every possible error. A Church is only justified in imposing as articles of faith the great truths on which Christianity is based. The Church will gain by removing all needless dogmas out of her formularies.

Now what is the real ground on which all attempts to improve our Church formularies are resisted? The opponents of reform put forth several hackneyed commonplaces, which have served every opponent of improvement, in every age. But the real ground of the opposition is a deep-seated unbelief, secretly entertained, of Christ's providence over his Church. These usual commonplaces it is difficult to discuss with gravity. They are such as "the times are too dangerous to attempt reformation;" "if we begin altering, where are we to stop?" "Men's minds acquiesce quietly in this or that, why then disturb them?" "The present compromise is one which has lasted over

two centuries; it will therefore do for all future times." "We must not touch the work of our venerable reformers," when it is well known that their work has been interfered with twice, already.

It will be sufficient to say, that there never has been a time in the history of the Church or the world, when these and kindred commonplaces, have not been equally valid, as arguments to arrest every possible improvement, whether religious, moral, or social. They would have kept our ancestors still heathens, and the Church of England still a portion of the Roman communion, and have reduced political society to the state of rottenness in which it exists in China.

We have too great a respect for the heads of those by whom such arguments are adduced, to believe that they attach much importance to them. They are surely used as a foil to divert attention from the real ground of opposition, and do well enough for the unreflecting mass of religious conservatism, to whom all thought is a weariness. We have already stated what we consider the real cause of the opposition.

The Church mind seems to think that a fearfulness of the consequences which will follow from all attempts at improvement is an essential ingredient of piety. We remember having been once much amused with a remark of Carlyle, in one of his miscellaneous essays. "As for the Church," says he; "she has been in danger from the time that we heard of her." This is true, for she has actually seen good to order that her ministers should pronounce in her commination service that in each successive year, as it arises, the days are dangerous ones. What, has every successive year which has arisen since this service was composed been full of danger to the interests of religion, and will every year yet to come, be dangerous also?

This sense of fear is the great stronghold of all opposition to improvement. From the Archbishop of Canterbury to the humblest curate, the cry is at once raised, Danger to the Church. Men who in temporal things are capable both of calmness and of courage, are not ashamed to avow themselves very cowards in religion.

If to every request which we make to our landlord to repair our house, his uniform reply is, that he fears that the attempt will

be attended with danger, we should draw the conclusion that it must be in a state of universal rottenness. Are our spiritual rulers prepared to assert this of the Church? Will the introduction of a good plank, instead of a rotten one, bring the whole edifice to the ground? When the general and his officers are not ashamed to cry danger, the prospects of the campaign are not encouraging. This outcry, which is made a reason why every attempt to occupy new ground must be abandoned, is to us a matter of the sincerest wonder. We should have supposed that very shame would have induced the Church's officers to hide their fears in their own bosoms. But they do not hesitate to proclaim their cowardice to the world. Field-Marshal Canterbury and his general officers never think of discussing any question on its merits; but when they are invited to do so, they openly avow fear of the consequences, as a sufficient reason for declining. When the commander-in-chief and his officers are not ashamed to plead cowardice as a reason for inaction, it is not to be wondered that a general panic should spread through the rank and file. What would be the consequences if such pleas were made by the officers of an army as are habitually advanced by the governors of our Church? It is superfluous to name them.

The Bishops and others are in the habit of complaining of the growth of infidelity. We ask, Who are its promoters? The Church professes to be built on Christ; to be sustained, not by the arm of man, but by the providence of God. It is the Church of Christ; His providence sustains it, He is able to take care of His own; man's duty is to do right and fear not. This is the theory, but what is the practice? Even when a thing is admitted to be wrong, and to require amendment, still it is resisted on the ground that it would be dangerous to attempt it. On one point the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Pope are in perfect accord: to reply to every proposal for reform, *Non possumus*; to meddle with the Church is fraught with danger. Can we wonder then if indifferent spectators draw the conclusion that she must be a rotten fabric, and that instead of being erected on a rock, she must be built on sand. We ask who are the favourers of infidelity? We answer, Those who profess to believe that Christ is on board the bark of his Church, and that it is upborne

by the arms of His providence, and who, instead of discussing proposals for improvement, put them down by crying danger. This surely looks like utter distrust of the power of truth, which our Lord has declared to be the foundation of His Kingdom. How different from the conduct of Him who revived the spirits of the desponding mariners by the exclamation, "Fear not, thou carriest Cæsar." When shall we hear a Church dignitary proclaim, "Fear not, thou carriest Christ?" The assertion that no human thing is perfect is not a reason against attempts at improvement, but the strongest argument in their favour. Fear is a word unfit for the vocabulary of a Christian; his motto ought to be "Conquering, and to Conquer."

C. A. R.

*Ancient Chinese Inscription.*—*Royal Asiatic Society, December 17th.*—Sir Edward Colebrooke, Bart., M.P., President, in the chair.—Sir H. Ricketts, K.C.S.I., the Rev. Dr. Clarke, and Mr. B. Quaritch were elected resident members, and Mr. T. W. H. Tolbert, B.C.S., a non-resident member of the society.—Sir H. C. Rawlinson brought to the notice of the meeting the great loss which the society had sustained in the death of the Rev. E. Hincks, D.D., who was one of the most acute and successful decipherers of the ancient Egyptian and Assyrian records.—Dr. H. Birch read a paper on some rubbings of an ancient inscription found by the Rev. J. Edkins, at Peking, in the south-east corner of the Chinese city, dating from the Kin dynasty, about 700 years from the present day. It was found on an octagonal stone, seven sides of which are covered with a Buddhist inscription in the Devanagari character, and the eighth side with a Chinese inscription. This last records the foundation of the temple of Hwa yen cho at the time of the Han dynasty, and its subsequent repairs and alterations till the fourth year of Hung che of the Ming dynasty, A.D. 1498. Another Chinese inscription, found at the end of the Sanscrit or Pali one, records that this last was set up in the fifth year of Teen-hwang, of the Ken dynasty, A.D. 1123, and that it had been handed down by persons intimately acquainted with Buddhist formulas. These rubbings had been transmitted to Europe by Mr. A. G. Goodwin, in the hope of procuring a translation, and engaging the attention of Sanscrit scholars.

## THE BOOK OF JOB.—A Revised Translation.

BY THE REV. J. M. RODWELL, M.A.

## CHAPTER I. 1—7.

THERE was a man in *the* land of Uz whose name *was* Job;<sup>a</sup> and this man was perfect and upright, and *one who* feared Elohim and turned away from evil.

And there were born to him seven sons and three daughters; and his substance was seven thousand sheep, and three thousand camels, and five hundred yoke of oxen, and five hundred she-asses, and a very large household; so that that man was greater than all *the* Sons of *the* East.<sup>b</sup>

Now his sons were wont to go and make a banquet<sup>c</sup> at *the* house of each on his day;<sup>d</sup> and they used to send and bid their three sisters to eat and to drink with them.

And *so* it was that when *the* days of the banquet had gone *their* round,<sup>e</sup> Job sent *for* and hallowed them; and he gat him up early in the morning, and offered up burnt-offerings *according to the* number of them all; for Job said, "Haply my sons have sinned, and renounced<sup>f</sup> Elohim in their heart." Thus used Job to do always.<sup>g</sup>

And it was the day when the sons of the Elohim came to present themselves<sup>h</sup> before Jehovah; and Satan<sup>i</sup> also came among them.<sup>j</sup> And Jehovah said to Satan, "Whence mayest thou come?" And Satan answered Jehovah and said, "From roving on<sup>k</sup> the earth, and from ranging up and down in it."

<sup>a</sup> Or, *Hiob*; or with Ewald, *Ijob*, i.e., *the afflicted, plagued*. The name has also been derived from an Arabic root signifying *to repent*, but less correctly.

<sup>b</sup> Heb., Beni Kedem, Gen. xxix. 1; the term by which the Hebrews designated the Arab tribes on the E. of Palestine. Comp. Gen. xxii. 21; xxv. 6; Numb. xxiii. 7; with Jer. xxv. 24.

<sup>c</sup> Lit., *a drinking, carousal*.

<sup>d</sup> Prob. birthday.

<sup>e</sup> Or, *when they had gone the round of the days*.

<sup>f</sup> Or, *blasphemed*.

<sup>g</sup> Heb., *all the days*.

<sup>h</sup> Heb., to set themselves up (stand) near J.

<sup>i</sup> Heb., *the Satan*, or the adversary, i.e., accuser. Comp. Zach. iii. 12; Rev. xii. 10. The word would be accurately represented by "*the Fiend*," as the participle of the Gothic *fijan*, to hate.

<sup>j</sup> Heb., in their midst.

<sup>k</sup> Or, *scouring over*.

## CHAPTER I. 8—19.

Then said Jehovah to Satan, "Hast thou observed my servant Job? for on earth is none like him, a perfect man and upright, fearing Elohim and turning away from evil."

And Satan answered Jehovah and said, "Is it for nought that Job fears Elohim? Hast not thou made a fence about him, and about his house, and about all that he hath on every side? *The* work of his hands hast thou blessed, so that his substance spreads *itself* abroad in the land. But put forth now thy hand, and touch all that he has . . . if he will not blaspheme thee to thy face!"

And Jehovah said to Satan, "Lo, all that he has is in thy hand: only upon himself put not forth thy hand."

And Satan went forth from Jehovah's presence.<sup>1</sup>

Now it was the day when his sons and his daughters were eating and drinking wine in the house of their brother, the first-born. And a messenger came to Job and said, "The oxen were plowing, and the she-asses pasturing beside them; and *the* Sabæan fell *upon them*, and seized them, and the young men they smote with *the* edge of *the* sword; and I am escaped, only I alone, to tell thee."

*While* this *one* was yet speaking, another came and said, "A fire of Elohim<sup>m</sup> has fallen from the heavens, and burned up the sheep and the young men and consumed them, and I am escaped, only I alone, to tell thee."

*While* this *one* was yet speaking, came another and said, "The Chasdim formed three bands and spread themselves out for the camels, and seized them, and smote the young men with *the* edge of *the* sword, and I am escaped, only I alone, to tell thee."

*While* this *one* was yet speaking, came another and said, "Thy sons and thy daughters *were* eating and drinking wine in *the* house of their brother the first-born, when, lo! a great wind came from across the desert, and smote *the* four corners of the house, *so* that it fell upon the young people, and they are dead; and I am escaped, only I alone, to tell thee."

<sup>1</sup> Heb., *from with the face of*.

<sup>m</sup> That is, a mighty fire.



## CHAPTER I. 20—II. 1—10.

Then Job arose, and rent his mantle, and cut *the hair* of his head, and fell to *the* ground, and bowed himself, and said, "Naked came I out from my mother's womb;" and naked shall I return thither. Jehovah gave, and Jehovah has taken; Jehovah's name be blessed."

In all this Job sinned not, nor ascribed wrong to Elohim.

And it was the day when *the* sons of the Elohim came to present themselves before Jehovah; and Satan also came among them to present himself before Jehovah. And Jehovah said to Satan, "Whence mayest thou come?" And Satan answered Jehovah and said, "From roving on<sup>e</sup> the earth, and from ranging up and down in it."

And Jehovah said to Satan, "Hast thou observed<sup>r</sup> my servant Job? for on earth is none like him, a man perfect and upright, fearing Elohim and turning away from evil? And still he holds fast to his piety, though thou didst incite me against him, to swallow him up *in ruin* without a cause."

And Satan answered Jehovah and said, "Member for member!—yea all that a man hath will he give up for his life. But put forth thine hand now and touch his bone and his flesh . . . if he will not blaspheme thee to thy face."

And Jehovah said to Satan, "Behold him in thy hand; only, spare his life."

And Satan went forth from before Jehovah, and smote Job with a bad ulcer from *the* sole of his foot even to his crown. And he took him a sherd to scrape himself therewith, as he sat among the ashes.

And his wife said to him, "Dost thou still hold fast thy piety? Blaspheme Elohim and die."

And he said to her, "Thou speakest as one of the impious<sup>r</sup> women speaks; shall we then accept the good from Elohim, and the evil shall we not accept?"

For all this, Job sinned not with his lips.

<sup>n</sup> That is, the earth.

<sup>r</sup> Heb., *set thy heart upon*.

<sup>e</sup> Or, *scouring over*.

<sup>r</sup> Lit., *foolish*.

## CHAPTER II. 11—III. 6.

Now three of Job's friends heard of all this evil that had come upon him; Eliphaz the Temanite, and Bildad the Shuchite, and Tsophar the Naamathite; and they appointed together to come to condole<sup>r</sup> with him, and to comfort him. And they lifted up their eyes from afar, and knew him not; and they lifted up their voice and wept, and they rent each one his mantle, and sprinkled dust upon their heads toward heaven.

And they sat down with him on the ground seven days and seven nights; and not one spake a word to him, for they saw that *his* pain was exceeding great.

Afterwards Job opened his mouth and cursed his day.

And Job spake and said :

Perish *the* day in which I was born,  
 And the night that said,<sup>r</sup> "A man-child is conceived!"  
 That day! let it be darkness!  
 Eloah regard it not from above!  
 Nor let light shine upon it!  
 Darkness and death-shade pollute it!<sup>r</sup>  
 Let cloud abide upon it!  
 Let obscurations<sup>r</sup> of *the* day affright it!  
 That night! deep darkness seize it!  
 Let it not rejoice among *the* days of *the* year!  
 Let it not come among the number of *the* months!  
 Lo, that night! be it barrenness!<sup>r</sup>  
 May no cry of joy enter it!  
 Let those who curse days, lay their ban upon it,  
 Those who are of skill<sup>r</sup> to rouse up Leviathan!

<sup>r</sup> Lit., to shake (*their heads*) at him.

<sup>r</sup> Al., and the night (*in which it was*) said.

<sup>r</sup> Or, reclaim it.

<sup>r</sup> i.e., eclipses; al., *mirky vapours*.

<sup>r</sup> That is, Let no births take place in it; or, *barren* of joy.

<sup>r</sup> Lit., *ready*. Leviathan is conceived of as a fabulous dragon, or serpent, capable of being called forth from its lurking place by enchantments; in chap. xl. 25, *the crocodile*.

## CHAPTER III. 7—21.

Darkened be *the* stars of its twilight !  
 Let it wait for light and there be none !  
 Nor let it behold *the* eyelashes of *the* dawn !  
 For it shut not up *the* doors of my *mother's* belly,  
 So as to hide trouble from mine eyes.  
 Why did I not die from *the* womb—  
 And, when I came forth from *the* belly, expire ?  
 Wherefore did knees<sup>a</sup> receive<sup>a</sup> me,  
 And why breasts, that I should suck ?  
 For now had I lain *me* down and were quiet,  
 Had slumbered—had been then at rest,  
 With kings and counsellors of *the* earth,  
 Who built for themselves desolate sepulchres ;<sup>a</sup>  
 Or with princes, possessed of gold,<sup>a</sup>  
 Who filled their houses with silver ;  
 Or, like a hidden abortion, I had not been,  
 Like babes *that* saw not light.  
 There the wicked<sup>b</sup> cease *from* troubling,  
 And there the strong, worn out,<sup>c</sup> find rest ;<sup>d</sup>  
 With them<sup>e</sup> *the* prisoners repose,  
 They hear not *the* voice of taskmaster ;  
 Small and great—both are there,<sup>f</sup>  
 And *the* slave *is* free from his lord.  
 Why gives He light<sup>g</sup> to *the* afflicted,  
 And life to *the* bitter in spirit<sup>g</sup> ;  
 (Who long for death, but it comes not,  
 And would dig for it more than for hidden treasures—

<sup>a</sup> i. e., of the midwife.<sup>a</sup> Lit., *prevent, meet.*<sup>a</sup> Lit., *desolations*, so called from the dreary purpose to which the pyramids, etc., were applied.<sup>a</sup> Heb., *gold to them, or, who had gold.*<sup>b</sup> Or, according to another meaning of the root, *agitators, troublers.*<sup>c</sup> Lit., *the wearied of strength*, i. e., strong men worn out by oppressors.<sup>d</sup> Lit., *with rest.*<sup>e</sup> Or, *together, all alike.*<sup>f</sup> Lit., *there (is) he.*<sup>g</sup> Or, *Why is light given.*

## CHAPTER III. 22—IV. 10.

Who would rejoice even to exultation,  
Would be joyous to find *the* tomb—  
To a man whose way is hidden,  
Whom Eloah hath hedged in?  
For my groaning comes before my food,  
And my roarings gush out like waters ;  
For I feared a fear, and it reaches me,  
And that which I dreaded is come *upon* me.  
I have no quiet, nor repose, nor rest,  
But turmoil comes !

Then answered Eliphaz the Temanite and said :

Should one try a word with thee, wilt thou take it ill?  
But who can refrain from speaking?  
Lo, thou hast instructed many,  
And feeble hands hast thou strengthened ;  
The stumbling thy words have upraised,  
And sinking<sup>a</sup> knees thou madest firm ;  
But now it is come unto thyself, and thou faintest ;  
It touches thyself, and thou art confounded.  
Is not thy fear *of God* thy confidence?  
And the uprightness of thy ways thy hope?  
Bethink thee now ; What innocent person has perished ?  
And when have *the* upright been cut off?  
As I have seen, plowers of iniquity,  
And sowers of trouble, reap it ;  
By Eloah's breath they perish,  
And by the blast of his nostril are consumed ;  
*The* roaring of *the* lion, and *the* voice of *the* swarthy lion,  
And *the* teeth of *the* young lions are broken ;

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<sup>a</sup> Heb., *bowing*.

## CHAPTER IV. 11—V. 1.

*The strong lion perishes for lack of prey,  
And the whelps of the lioness are scattered abroad.*

Now an oracle<sup>i</sup> was imparted to me by stealth,  
And mine ear caught its whisper;<sup>j</sup>

In thoughts, from visions of the night,  
When deep sleep falls on men.

An alarm came on me and a shuddering,  
And made all<sup>k</sup> my bones to tremble;—

When<sup>l</sup> a wind-gust swept before my face,  
The hair of my flesh rose on end—

There stood One,<sup>m</sup> whose form I could not discern;  
A shape was before mine eyes—  
I heard a still voice:“

“ Shall mortal man be more just than Eloah,  
Man be purer than his Maker?

“ Lo, He trusts not His *own* servants,  
And imputes wrong to His angels;

“ How much more to those who dwell in houses of clay,  
Whose foundation is in the dust;  
Sooner than *the* moth are they crushed—

“ From morn to even are they broken in pieces,  
They are ever perishing, unheeded;

“ Are not their tent-cords<sup>n</sup> torn away?  
They die, but not in wisdom.”

Plead now;<sup>p</sup> is there any one who will respond to thee?  
And to whom of the Holy Ones<sup>q</sup> wilt thou turn?

<sup>i</sup> Or, *the matter*; lit., *a word*, i. e., concerning the justice of the dispensations of God, *was stolen to me*.

<sup>j</sup> Or, *a little thereof*.

<sup>k</sup> Heb., *the multitude of*.

<sup>l</sup> Heb., *and*.

<sup>m</sup> Heb., *(it) stood, but its form, etc.*

<sup>n</sup> Or, *(there was) silence, then I heard a voice*.

<sup>o</sup> Or, *(the) superiority (which is) in them*.

<sup>p</sup> Or, more simply, *call now*.

<sup>q</sup> i. e., angels.

## CHAPTER V. 2—14.

Nay, passion will slay the impious,  
And envy kill the foolish !

I myself have seen *the* impious striking root ;  
But at once I cursed his dwelling—

“ Far shall his children be from safety,  
They shall crush each other in the gate,<sup>1</sup>  
With none to deliver ;

“ His harvest shall *the* starveling eat,  
And take it even from within thorns,<sup>2</sup>  
And the snare<sup>3</sup> gape for their substance :——”

Though calamity comes not from *the* dust,  
And trouble grows not of *the* ground ;

Yet man is born to trouble  
As the sons of lightning<sup>4</sup> soar aloft.”

But I, I would seek to El,  
And direct my speech to Elohim ;

Who does great things past searching out,  
Marvellous things without number ;

Giving rain upon *the* face of *the* earth,  
And sending waters upon *the* face of *the* outlands ;

To set *those that be* low on high,  
While *the* black-clad mourners are upraised to welfare ;

Breaking up *the* devices of *the* crafty,  
So that their hands perform nought to purpose ;

Catching *the* wise in their *own* craft,  
So that *the* counsel of *the* wily becomes headlong ;

In *the* day time they meet with darkness,  
And in noon-brightness they grope as *in the* night ;

<sup>1</sup> That is, Ruin one another by family feuds and litigation before the judges in the gate.      <sup>2</sup> *i.e.*, an enclosure, or hedge of thorns.

<sup>3</sup> Or, *the thirsty*. But see Fuerst's Lex. in v.

<sup>4</sup> *i.e.*, birds of prey, or arrows. But Fuerst retains the rendering of E. T., *sparks*.

<sup>5</sup> Lit., *make high to fly* ; or, with a different pointing of פָּנָה, *uplift (the) wing*.

## CHAPTER V. 15—VI. 1.

Thus saving<sup>w</sup> from *the* sword of their mouth,  
 And from *the* hand of *the* violent,—*the* poor;  
 So to the feeble is hope,  
 And iniquity shuts up her mouth.  
 Lo, blessed *the* man whom Eloah corrects!  
 Therefore reject not thou *the* chastening of Shaddai;  
 For He makes sore, and *yet* binds up;  
 He bruises, but His hands make whole:  
 In six troubles will He deliver thee,  
 Nor in seven shall evil touch thee;  
 In famine He will ransom thee from death,  
 And in war from *the* hands of *the* sword;  
 When the tongue scourges shalt thou be hid,  
 Nor shalt thou be afraid of desolation, when it comes;  
 At ravage and at famine thou shalt laugh,  
 Nor fear *the* wild beasts of the land;  
 For *even* with *the* stones of the field shalt thou be in league,  
 And *the* wild beast of the field shall be at peace with thee,<sup>s</sup>  
 So that thou shalt know that thy home<sup>v</sup> is well,  
 And shalt visit thy pasture and miss nothing;  
 And thou shalt know that thy seed *shall be* many,  
 And thine offspring like *the* grass of the land;  
 Thou shalt come to *the* tomb in a good old age,  
 As the sheaf is borne in,<sup>a</sup> in its season.  
 Lo this, we have sought it out; it *is* so;  
 Hear it, and know thou *it* for thyself.

Then answered Job and said :

Would that my grief were duly weighed,  
 And my ills lifted<sup>a</sup> with it into balances !

<sup>w</sup> Lit., *And He saved from the sword, from their mouth.*

<sup>s</sup> Lit., *has been made at peace to thee.*

<sup>v</sup> Lit., *as (the) going up of a sheaf.*

<sup>v</sup> Heb., *tent is peace.*

<sup>a</sup> Heb., *that they would lift.*

## CHAPTER VI. 2—15.

For then heavier would they be than sand of seas :  
Therefore have my words been rash.<sup>b</sup>

For arrows of Shaddai are in me,  
Whose poison my spirit drinks :  
Eloah's terrors array themselves against me.

Does *the* wild ass bray over *his* grass ?  
Or lows *the* ox over his fodder ?

Can *the* insipid be eaten without salt ?  
Is there taste in juice of purslain ?<sup>c</sup>

My soul refuses to touch *them* ;  
They are as food which I loathe ;

Would that my request might come to pass,  
And that Eloah would grant my hope,—

Yea, that Eloah would please to crush me,  
Let loose His hand and cut me off !

Yet *this* would be still my comfort,  
(And I would exult amid pain *which* spares not,)<sup>d</sup>  
That I have not denied *the* words of *the* Holy One.

*But* what is my strength, that I should hope ?  
And what my end, that I should still be patient ?<sup>e</sup>

*Is* my strength *the* strength of stones ?  
*Is* my flesh brass ?

*Is* not my help gone,<sup>f</sup>  
And resource driven from me ?

A friend should pity the unfortunate,  
Or he may forsake *the* fear of Shaddai ;

*But* my brethren have been treacherous like a brook,  
Like *the* stream of brooks *that* pass away ;

<sup>b</sup> Or, with Schultens, *heated*. The reference is to iii. 1, where Job "cursed his day."

<sup>c</sup> Thus Ges.; or with Targ., Rabb., Ewald, E.T., and many moderns, *the white of an egg*; lit., *spittle*.

<sup>d</sup> Or, *which He (God) spares not*.

<sup>e</sup> Or, *if I should prolong my life*.

<sup>f</sup> Lit., *Is it not, that there is no my help* (i.e., *help of myself*) *in me* ?



## CHAPTER VI. 16—28.

The darkly-turbid with ice,  
 In which *the* snow hides itself;  
 What time they flow they are dried up,<sup>g</sup>  
 When it is hot they are extinguished from their place;  
 The caravans divert their track,  
 They go up into the desert and perish;  
*The* caravans of Tema looked—  
*The* companies of Sheba awaited them;  
 Ashamed are they to have *thus* confided,  
 They came up to them and blushed.  
 For thus, now, ye are nought<sup>h</sup>—  
 Ye see terror and are terrified.<sup>i</sup>  
 Is it that I said, "Give to me?"  
 Or, "Of your means bribe for me?"  
 Or, "Deliver me from an enemy's hand?"  
 Or, "From *the* hand of tyrants ransom me?"  
 Teach me and I will be mute;  
 And make clear to me wherein I have erred.  
 How forcible are honest speeches!<sup>j</sup>  
 But what does your reproof reprove?  
 Think ye to reprove words,  
 Though the speeches of a desperate man are as wind?<sup>k</sup>  
 Ye would even cast *lots* upon *the* orphan,  
 And traffic on your friend.  
 But now be pleased to look upon me;  
 Plain shall it be to you if I am false!<sup>l</sup>

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<sup>g</sup> Lit., *are destroyed*.

<sup>h</sup> Or, following the Kri, *Such now surely are ye become*; or, in accordance with the reading of many MSS., *are ye become to me*.

<sup>i</sup> There is a play in the original upon similar words (*see* and *fear*).

<sup>j</sup> Lit., *speeches of uprightness*.

<sup>k</sup> Or, *to (the) wind*.

<sup>l</sup> Or, *I shall not surely lie to your face*.

## CHAPTER VI. 29—VII. 1—11.

Return now,<sup>a</sup> let there be no unfairness ;

Yea, return again,—my cause *is* just.<sup>a</sup>

Is unfairness in my tongue ?

Cannot my palate discern what is wrong ?

Has not frail man a hard service upon earth ?

And *are not* his days like *the* days of an hireling ;

Like a slave *who* pants for shade,

And like an hireling who awaits his wage ?

So am I made to inherit months of calamity,

And troublous nights have been allotted me.

When I lie down, then I say, “ When shall I arise, and  
the night be gone ? ”<sup>a</sup>

And till daybreak I am filled with tossings ;

With *the* worm and an earthy crust my flesh is clad,<sup>b</sup>

My skin breaks and discharges ;

My days have been swifter than a shuttle,

And waste away without hope !

Remember that my life is *but* a breath,—

Mine eye shall never again<sup>c</sup> see good ;

*The* eye of him that saw me shall look on me no *more* ;

Thine *own* eyes *shall* look for me, but I shall be gone.<sup>c</sup>

A cloud when dissolved is gone,

So he that goes down to Sheol comes up no *more* ;

No more shall he return to his house,

No more shall his place know him.

*Therefore* I too will not restrain my mouth,

In *the* anguish of my spirit will I speak,

I will make my plaint in *the* bitterness of my soul.

<sup>a</sup> It has been supposed that the three friends had made a movement to retire.

<sup>b</sup> Lit., my righteousness is in it.

<sup>c</sup> Or, *He (God) lengthens out the night.*

<sup>c</sup> Heb., *shall not return to see.*

<sup>b</sup> Lit., *my flesh has put on*, etc.

<sup>c</sup> Heb., *but I (am) not.*

## CHAPTER VII. 12—VIII. 2.

Am I a sea?<sup>a</sup> or a monster of the deep?  
 That thou settest a watch upon me?  
 When I say, "My couch may comfort me,  
 My bed may ease<sup>b</sup> my complaining,"  
 Then thou scarest me with dreams,  
 And frightenest me by visions,  
 So that my soul makes choice of strangling,  
 Of death, rather than *such* bones<sup>c</sup> as mine:  
 I loathe *them*; I shall not live for long;  
 Let me alone; for my days are a breath!  
 What is poor man, that Thou shouldst greatly prize him,  
 And set Thine heart upon him!  
 That thou shouldst visit him each morn,<sup>d</sup>  
 And try him every moment!  
 How long wilt Thou not look away from me,  
 Nor give me respite<sup>e</sup> till I swallow down my spittle?  
*Be it that* I have sinned, *yet* what have I done to Thee,  
     Thou watcher of man?  
 Why hast Thou made me Thy object of assault,  
 So that I am become a burden to myself?  
 And why dost thou not take away my offence,  
 And cause my sin to pass away?  
 For now, I must lay me in the dust;  
 And though thou seek me, yet I shall be gone.<sup>f</sup>

Then answered Bildad the Shuchite, and said:

How long wilt thou utter these *things*,  
 And *the* words of thy mouth *be* a mighty wind?

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<sup>a</sup> i.e., the Nile (Isa. xix. 5; Hom., ὠκεανός). At the season of the inundation a *watch* was set to note the rising of the water.

<sup>b</sup> Heb., *bear with*.

<sup>c</sup> i.e., *body*; or, by a change of *mem* to *beth*, suggested by Gesenius in *Thes.*, *these my pains*.

<sup>d</sup> Heb., *at mornings, and try him at moments*.

<sup>e</sup> Heb., *let me go*.

<sup>f</sup> Heb., *I not*; i.e., *I (shall) not (be)*.

## CHAPTER VIII. 3—16.

Can El wrest judgment?

Or can Shaddai wrest justice?

If against Him thy sons have sinned,  
Then to their *own* offence has He given them over.<sup>a</sup>

*But* thou, if thou wilt seek unto El,  
And implore the favour of Shaddai—

If thou *art* pure and upright,  
Surely now will He wake up on thy behalf,  
And keep in safety *the* abode of thy righteousness;  
So that thy former estate<sup>c</sup> shall be a small *matter*,  
But thy latter a vast increase.<sup>a</sup>

For ask now of *the* former generation,  
And apply to *the* lore of their sires!

(For *of* yesterday are we, and know nothing,  
Yea, a shadow are our days upon earth,)

Shall not they teach thee—speak to thee,—  
And bring forth words out of their heart?

“Can *the* bulrush grow up where there is no marsh?  
Can *the* flag make increase without water?

“While yet in its greenness, uncut,  
Yet it withers before any other herb :<sup>b</sup>—

“So fares it<sup>c</sup> with all who forget El,  
And *the* hope of *the* impious perishes ;

“Whose confidence is cut asunder ;  
And his trust is a spider’s house ;

“He may lean on his house, but it will not stand,  
He may hold it fast, but it will not endure ;

“He is full of sap<sup>d</sup> under *the* sun,  
And his branches<sup>e</sup> go forth over his garden ;

<sup>a</sup> Heb., *He hath sent them away by* (or *in*) *the hand of their transgression.*

<sup>b</sup> Heb., *thy beginning.*

<sup>a</sup> Heb., *shall be great, much.*

<sup>c</sup> Heb., *before all grass it dries up.*

<sup>c</sup> Heb., *so the ways.*

<sup>d</sup> Heb., *in the face of, before.*

<sup>e</sup> Al., *a spring.* Cf. Cant. iv. 12.

## CHAPTER VIII. 17—IX. 8.

“ His roots twine around a mound,  
He beholds *the* stony base :<sup>f</sup>—

“ If one should destroy him from his place,  
So that it deny him—‘ I never saw thee ;’—

“ Lo, this *is the* joy of his course !  
And out of *the* soil will others grow.”<sup>g</sup>

Lo, El will not reject *the* pious,  
Nor take *the* wicked by *the* hand.

He will yet fill thy mouth with laughter,  
And thy lips with shout of joy :

They that hate thee shall be clothed with shame,  
And *the* tent of *the* wicked shall perish.<sup>h</sup>

Then answered Job and said :

Of a truth I know that *it is* so ;  
But how shall frail-man be just with El ?  
Should he desire to contend with Him,  
Not one of a thousand *questions* could he answer Him :  
Wise of heart and mighty of strength !  
Who has been safe that hardened himself against Him ?  
Who removes mountains, ere they are aware,<sup>i</sup>  
Who overturns them in His fury ;  
Who causes *the* earth to shake out of her place,  
So that her pillars crack to pieces ;  
Who commands the sun, and it shines not,  
And sets His seal upon *the* stars ;  
Bowing down *the* heavens, alone,  
And walking the towering sea waves ;<sup>j</sup>

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<sup>f</sup> Lit., *house of stones*. The meaning probably is that the roots of this tree strike vigorously down through the soil to the solid rock.

<sup>g</sup> Ironical. The sinner's place is soon supplied by others.

<sup>h</sup> Heb., *it (is) not*.

<sup>i</sup> Lit., *and they know not*.

<sup>j</sup> Lit., *heights, fastnesses, of the sea*.

## CHAPTER IX. 9—21.

Maker of the Wain, *the* Giant, and *the* Cluster,  
And *the* Chambers of *the* South ;<sup>\*</sup>

Doer of great things past searching out,  
And wonders past reckoning up !

Lo, He passes by me, but I see *Him* not ;  
And sweeps past, but I do not discern Him !

Lo, He snatches away—who will turn Him back ?  
Who shall say to Him, “ What doest Thou ?

Eloah will not turn back His fury !  
Tumultuous helpers' sink beneath it—

Much less can I reply to Him,  
Choose out my words with Him,

To Whom, though innocent, I would not reply,  
*But* would plead for favour to my judge.

If I had called on *Him*, and He had answered me,  
*Yet* would I not be sure He had given ear to my voice,

Who overwhelms me with tempest,  
And, without cause, multiplies my wounds :—

He will not give me to draw my breath,  
But fills me with bitternesses.

If *it is a question* of strength,—lo, *He is* mighty ;  
If of right,—who will appoint me a time for meeting Him ?<sup>m</sup>  
Should *I say* “ I am just,” my *own* mouth would condemn  
me ;

If “ *I am* upright,” that would pervert my cause ;

*Though I am* upright, I must not know myself as such ;  
*Therefore* my life do I loathe !

<sup>\*</sup> That is, the Bear, Orion, the Pleiades, and the S. hemisphere.

<sup>i</sup> i.e., Of him whom God would punish, or *helpers of Rahab* (or *Pride*), i.e., Egypt ; or, some *sea monster* (Ewald).

<sup>m</sup> Some place these two lines in the mouth of God, and render, “ *Is it (a question) of the strength of the mighty ? Here I am : Is it (a question) of rights ? Who will impeach me ?*” The accents are not decisive.

## CHAPTER IX. 22—35.

It *is* all one—therefore did I say,  
The upright and *the* guilty He destroys *alike*.

If *the* scourge should slay suddenly,  
He laughs at *the* trial of *the* innocent!

Earth is put into *the* hand of *the* wicked—  
He veils *the* face of its judges—  
If not *He*, who then *is* it?"

And swifter than a courier are my days,  
They have fled away, they beheld not good;  
They have swept past like skiffs of reed,  
As an eagle swooping to its prey.

If I say, "I will forget my plaint,  
Relax my (dark) faces and brighten up,"

I think with terror of all my troubles,  
I know that Thou wilt not clear me.

If I *must* be guilty before Thee,  
Why then weary myself in vain?

If I had washed myself in snow water,  
And cleansed my hands with potash,  
Still wouldst Thou plunge me into a ditch,  
So that my garments would make me loathed.

For *He is* not a man, as I *am*, that I might answer him,  
"Let us enter into judgment together,"

There is no arbiter between us,  
To lay his hand upon us both.

Let Him withdraw his rod from upon me,  
And let not His terrors scare me;

Then would I speak out and not fear Him:  
For I am conscious of no cause to fear.\*

(To be continued.)

\* Lit., *who then he (that does so) ?*

• Lit., *For I am not so with myself; or, For am I not upright in myself?*

**THE LITURGY OF ST. CELESTINE, BISHOP OF ROME.**

THIS Anaphora, or Liturgy, ascribed by the Jacobite Church of Syria to St. Celestine, Bishop of Rome (A.D. 422—432), is not given in the well-known collection of Renaudot, and but barely mentioned by Neale in his *History of the Holy Eastern Church*, vol. i., "Table of Liturgical Families," facing p. 317. The latter scholar also mentions it in his work entitled "The Liturgies of St. Mark, St. James, etc., translated with Introduction and Appendices" (London, 1859), but says, at p. 181, "I have not been able to procure a copy of the canon." I conclude, therefore, that it is now published for the first time.

I have three manuscripts of it at my disposal: Add. 14,496, of the ninth or tenth century; Add. 14,493, of the tenth or eleventh century; and Add. 14,690, which is dated A. Gr. 1493, A.D. 1182. The first of these is a good deal damaged in several places, and I have therefore reproduced the text of the second. To the translation, which I hope to give in the next number of *The Journal of Sacred Literature*, I shall append the principal variations of the other manuscripts.

WM. WRIGHT.

London. March, 1867.







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## CORRESPONDENCE.

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[We wish our readers to understand that we cannot be held responsible for the opinions of our contributors and correspondents. The utmost we can do is to keep a careful eye upon the literary character of their communications, and to see that they do not transcend the limits of fair criticism and lawful inquiry.]

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## ON THE DATE IN JOHN II. 20.

AT p. 474 of your last Number I stated, that the words *Τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ἕξ ἔτεσιν ὠκοδομήθη ὁ ναὸς οὗτος* (John ii. 20) are commonly understood of the Temple as rebuilt by Herod; and I endeavoured to prove that, so understood, they might have been uttered by the Jews at the Passover of A.D. 26. I seriously doubt, however, of this being the true interpretation of the passage, for the following reasons:—

(1) “Forty-six years” was not an easy period for the bystanders to compute on the spur of the moment, as they must have done had they intended to refer to Herod’s undertaking. Had it been the jubilee or centenary of that event, they may be supposed to have known it beforehand: but so precise a period as “forty-six years” to the time then present would require computation at the time; and yet the promptness of the reply leaves no interval, in which any such computation could be made. (2) The hypothesis that they referred to Herod’s undertaking requires *ὠκοδομήθη* to be rendered “hath been in building;” and the LXX. have used the word in this sense at Ezra v. 16 (*ἀπὸ τότε ἕως τοῦ νῦν ὠκοδομήθη, καὶ οὐκ ἐτελέσθη*): but the word is there tied to this sense by its context; whereas here there is nothing to forbid the more accurate rendering of our Authorized Version, “was in building;” and “was in building” clearly refers to some bygone matter, which *had* occupied, or was *supposed* to have occupied, forty-six years; and that so long ago, as to allow the period to become a settled tradition in Jewish history, with which people were familiar. (3) The Lord had said by the prophet Haggai, “The glory of this latter house shall be greater than that of the former” (ii. 9), i.e., by being honoured with the presence of the Messiah. But if Herod’s work be regarded as a *third* temple, or as anything more than a continuation and enlargement of the *second* temple, that prophecy was not fulfilled. The *second* temple was in fact never destroyed like the *first*; till the Romans did their work A.D. 70: ὁ ναὸς οὗτος therefore most properly refers to the temple as rebuilt by



Zerubbabel, after the seventy years' captivity. (4) Lastly, there is no real foundation for the notion on which this interpretation is based, viz., that Herod's building was still being carried on till and after our Saviour's time; for Josephus expressly states (*Antiq.*, xv., xi., 5, 6) that the ναὸς or sanctuary was finished by the priests in eighteen months, and that Herod himself built the cloisters and the outer enclosures in *eight years*. Some of these works were burnt soon after his death, and others fell down (see *Antiq.*, xv., xi., 3; xvii., x., 2). King Agrippa, who became king of Judea A.D. 41, undertook to repair these dilapidations, and employed eighteen thousand men upon them daily, *in the reign of Nero*, which began in A.D. 64; and it is in reference to these repairs by Agrippa that Josephus says, ἤδη δὲ τότε καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἐτετέλεστο (see *Antiq.*, xx., ix., 7; and *War*, v., i., 5), i. e., about A.D. 65 (*Fasti Sacri*, p. 336). For these reasons I turn with satisfaction to a different interpretation of the passage.

2. The ancient Church considered the persons who addressed our Lord to allude to Zerubbabel's temple, *supposed by them* to have been forty-six years in building.

Erroneous as such a notion would be, there is good reason for believing that it prevailed in our Lord's time. Clemens Alexandrinus in the second century, commenting on the Seventy Weeks' prophecy, assigns the "seven weeks" to the "building of the wall and the street in troublous times;" which he interprets of the rebuilding of the temple by Zerubbabel; adding, ὅτι μὲν οὖν ἐν ἑπτα ἑβδομάσιν ὠκοδομήθη ὁ ναὸς, τοῦτο φανερὸν ἐστὶ, καὶ γὰρ ἐν τῷ Ἑσδρα γέγραπται (*Strom.*, i., 21). Now the Book of Ezra says indeed, that the decree for rebuilding the temple was issued in the first year of Cyrus, king of Persia, and that the house was finished in the sixth year of Darius (Ezra i. 1; vi. 15); but the utmost limit that can be assigned to this interval = only twenty-three instead of forty-six years (Clinton). The notion of "forty-six years," therefore, which Clemens evidently had in his mind, must have arisen from some erroneous interpretation of Ezra, which is not far to seek. For Julius Africanus, an eminent Christian chronologer in the beginning of the third century, as cited by Eusebius (*Præpar. Evang.*, lib. x., cap. 10), says that "Cyrus began his reign over the Persians in the first year of the fifty-fifth Olympiad," = B.C. 559; and that "in the very same year the first detachment of the Jews returned to Judea under Zerubbabel and Joshua the son of Jozadak, according to the Book of Ezra, the seventy years having expired." And in the *Computus de Pascha*, a treatise of the age of Cyprian, i. e., the

third century, the author gives the same view as Clemens of the "seven weeks" in Daniel, and then adds: "Templum . . . destructum . . . iterum per 46 annos est ædificatum." Again a little after he observes: "Restitutum est ergo templum . . . annis 46. . . . Cum a die illo quo reversus est in terrâ suâ Judæorum populus regnavit Cyrus Persarum annis 31: Post quem Cambyses annis 9: et impleti sunt 40. Post annos autem 40 regnat Smerdis Magus mensibus septem, qui menses a nobis non computantur—Quare? Quoniam in septimo mense Cyri fundamenta Templi posuerunt; et exinde usque ad annum secundum Darii opus in eo non confecerunt. Tum prophetant Aggeus et Zacharias, per quos exhortatus est eos Dominus, et unanimes accesserunt, et in quadriennio residuum opus Templi consummaverunt. Quod ipsum quidem in primo libro Esdræ manifestè demonstratur, quod sexto anno Darii Templum Dei sit per omnia consummatum. Ad 40 adjiciamus Darii 6 et fient 40 et 6. Quibus annis adjecti sunt tres in mysterio Passionis et Resurrectionis Christi, et impleta est hebdomada septima."<sup>b</sup>

It is plain from the above quotations that the error, which led both Clemens and this anonymous writer to suppose that forty-six years had been employed in rebuilding the temple, arose from the ancient chronologers assigning to the first year of Cyrus in Persia events which belonged to the first year of Cyrus in Babylon, twenty-one years later. This error seems to have been so generally followed, that Clemens says, "*it is evident*" that the temple of Zerubbabel was about seven weeks of years in building. Now if such was the common opinion in the second century after Christ, we may reasonably believe that it prevailed in the Saviour's time among the Jews, and was the opinion alluded to by the bystanders when they said, "Forty and six years was this temple in building." Sigonius, who died A.D. 1584, distinctly asserts this tradition in his *De Republica Hebræorum*, lib. i., cap. v.: after which the other interpretation came into vogue. But I fully believe, with Benson, that the ancient is the true interpretation; and the passage so interpreted has no bearing whatever on the chronology of our Saviour's history. If any still prefer the modern hypothesis that the allusion is to Herod's undertaking, yet even in that case I should maintain, that the circumstances under which the computation was produced deprive it of any weight in settling a scheme of Gospel chronology. It is important to observe, that in thus arguing against the accuracy

<sup>b</sup> Cypriani Opera, Oxon. 1681: Appendix, p. 68.

of the reckoning, I do not impeach the inspiration or accuracy of Holy Scripture, but quite the contrary; for the error is that of the speakers, not of the Apostle; who proves his trustworthiness as an historian by faithfully recording what the bystanders *really* said to Jesus, though they followed an erroneous tradition.

JOSIAH PRATT.

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### ON THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS.

Who was the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews is a question which can never be settled. It is one of those points which may exercise very ingenious inquiries, but every inquirer must be satisfied to regard his opinion as merely one among probable conjectures. Biblical criticism, however advanced, can never do more than this, but modern criticism has done a good deal to confirm the negative side of the question. It has converted the doubts of earlier times into nearly absolute certainty. If we are not now more in a position to decide who wrote this Epistle, we may with tolerable certainty decide who did not write it. And that the Apostle Paul was not the author can, it seems, be made out from very strong evidence.

It is my purpose, in the present case, to try to bring forward proofs which are conclusive to my own mind, that St. Paul was not the writer of this Epistle, offering only a conjecture as to who most probably was its author: The evidence which shall be offered will be chiefly internal evidence. The external is pretty equally divided. The Greek Church was generally in favour of the Pauline authorship. Pantænus, the President of the Catechumenical School, at Alexandria, who lived in the second century, is the first known writer who ascribes the Epistle to Paul. But even he does not give his opinion without some hesitation. He remarks that it was contrary to the Apostle's custom, not to name himself at the commencement of his letters. This he did in every case of his acknowledged and undoubted Epistles. Clement of Alexandria, (at the end of the second and beginning of the third centuries,) quotes the Epistle as belonging to Paul, but he does not venture to ascribe it in its present form to the Apostle. He supposes that there had been an Aramaic original, the work of Paul, from which the letter we now have is a translation, made for the benefit of the Greek-speaking Christians.

The external form of the writing he is disposed to attribute to Luke. Origen (A.D. 254), in like manner, quotes passages out of the Hebrews as expressions of Paul, but he does not go so far as to ascribe the work as a whole to him. His opinion on the subject is expressed in the words, "Who wrote the Epistle God only knows," *τίς δὲ ὁ γράψας τὴν ἐπιστολὴν, τὸ μὲν ἀληθὲς Θεὸς οἶδεν*. In later times the opinion of Paul's authorship became more general; but even then all doubts on the point had not ceased. Eusebius of Cæsarea (in the first half of the fourth century), quotes the Epistle to the Hebrews as belonging to the Pauline Epistles, and reckons it among the Homologumena. But still he regards it in its present form as a version of a Hebrew original (*Hist. Eccl.*, iii., 3.). Nay, in another place (vi., 13) he reckons it among the *ἀντιλεγόμεναι γραφαί*, and puts it in the same category with the Wisdom of Solomon, the Book of Ecclesiasticus, the letters of Barnabas, and of Clement Romanus. It was acknowledged directly as the work of Paul in the sixtieth canon of the council of Laodicea, about the middle of the fourth century; by Basil the Great, 379; by his brother Gregory Nyssa; by Cyril, Gregory Nazianzum, Epiphanius, Chrysostom, Theodoret. So far then as the Eastern Church is concerned, it would seem that by the earlier writers, the authorship was only indirectly attributed to St. Paul, while it was more directly ascribed to him by the later.

On the other hand, the early Western Church did not allow that Paul was the writer. Tertullian, at the end of the second and beginning of the third century, has only once expressly quoted the Epistle to the Hebrews, but on that occasion it was his object to exalt as much as possible its authority; but he does not say a word about St. Paul as its author. Instead of this Apostle, he names Barnabas as the writer of it, and this not by way of conjecture, but as an opinion generally held at the time: see Pudicit, c. 20, "*Exstat nunc etiam Barnabæ epistola ad Hebræos*," and then after insisting on the authority of Barnabas as of one who had Paul's recommendation, he goes on to quote the passage, Hebrews vi. 4—6. In like manner, Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage (A.D. 258), who quotes out of all the other acknowledged Epistles of St. Paul, (except the short one to Philemon,) nowhere cites from the Hebrews, but asserts that Paul wrote only to seven Churches; and not only the North-African Church, but what is very remarkable, the ancient Roman Church knows nothing of the Pauline authorship of this Epistle. Clemens Romanus (at the end of the first century), gives repeated evidence that he was well acquainted with this New Testament writing, and highly

esteemed it, but not a trace is to be found of his opinion as to its authorship: Caius, who was presbyter at Rome at the end of the second and beginning of the third century, ascribes only thirteen Epistles to St. Paul, excluding that to the Hebrews from the number; and so Irenæus, the representative of the Churches of Gaul; and so Hippolytus. It was only about the middle of the fourth century that the opinion of the authorship of Paul gradually found its way into the Western Church, and from that time this became the generally received notion concerning it. But on the whole it may be said that external evidence is more against than in favour of this view, when we take into consideration the *hesitation* of the earliest Greek writers on the point, the positive opinion of the early western Fathers against its Pauline origin, and the slow way in which that notion at length became the prevailing one. But the internal evidence is much stronger, and upon this the greatest stress is to be laid. The following arguments, set forth as briefly as possible, appear to be of weight.

1. The omission of St. Paul's name. This is itself very remarkable, as contrary to the Apostle's custom, in the case of all his known Epistles. The reason usually given for the omission is most unsatisfactory. It is said that Paul omitted his name at the beginning of this Epistle lest it should create a prejudice against his arguments among the Jews. But would the words of an anonymous writer have any weight at all? Could it be concealed that Paul was the writer if such had been the case, and would not the knowledge of the fact, together with the circumstance that it had been concealed, be most unfavourable to the reception of the Epistle? The omission of the name at the commencement of the letter is itself a strong proof against the Pauline authorship.

2. A still stronger one is the style. There is an unmistakable character about the style of all the acknowledged epistles of St. Paul. Every great original thinker must have his peculiar mode of expressing his thoughts. "The style is the man," is more true of this Apostle than of any one else we can think of. He seems to be struggling with the greatness of the thoughts in his mind, and to experience difficulty in finding words for their adequate expression. Compare the introduction (for example) of the Epistle to the Ephesians with that to the Hebrews, and we must confess that it is scarcely possible to conceive a greater contrast: and the contrast is maintained throughout the Epistles. St. Paul's usual style is abrupt, and occasionally harsh, with disregard at times of exact grammatical

connection: this to the Hebrews flowing clear and regular in its construction. There is not a greater difference between the styles of Aristotle and Plato than between that of St. Paul and of the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews. If we can imagine Aristotle writing any of the dialogues of Plato, we may believe that St. Paul was the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, but not otherwise.

3. At chapters ii. and iii., the writer reckons himself among the number of those who had received the message of the Gospel, not immediately from his Lord, but through the instrumentality of others. But this is contrary to St. Paul's way of speaking of his acquaintance with the Gospel. He claims to have received it by direct revelation, and not by means of others, and he places himself in this respect on the same level with the Apostles, the companions and hearers of Christ, see Gal. i. 1, 11, 12, 15, 16; ii. 6; 1 Cor. ix. 1; xi. 23; Ephes. ii., 2, 3. The reference to Timothy (in chap. xiii. 23) makes rather against than for the view that Paul was the writer. It is there said that Timothy was freed from his imprisonment; the readers, therefore, of the letter must have been well acquainted with the circumstance of this imprisonment, but there is no mention of any such during the time Timothy was the companion of Paul, either in the known Epistles of the latter, or in the Acts of the Apostles.

4. *The mode* in which matters of doctrine in the Epistle to the Hebrews are treated differs from that in St. Paul's other writings. Of course, in all material points there is no disagreement, but as one Christian writer is apt to lay stress on one side of doctrine more than on another, and to treat it in a particular way, so we may find a distinction between the topics discussed in this Epistle, and in the others. The Apostle Paul regards the resurrection of Christ as the great event of the Gospel history. He speaks of the death of Christ always in connection with His resurrection. This prominence to this great event in the Gospel history is not given in the Epistle to the Hebrews; it is mentioned only, by the way, in the blessing towards the close, in chap. xiii. 20. The main part of the Epistle treats almost exclusively of the death of Christ, and of the heavenly High Priesthood of which Christ is the dispenser, who is exalted to the right hand of God. Again, the way in which *πίστις* is treated here is different from the Pauline manner; while Paul speaks of *πίστις* in its opposition to the νόμος and the ἔργα νόμου, the writer to the Hebrews regards it as the believing, humble, trust in God, which is

opposed to the desire to walk by sight—a view which is seldom brought forward by Paul, though he does mention it once in 2 Cor. v. 11. It is remarkable too that this writer to the Hebrews, although he regards Judaism only as an introduction to Christianity, does not, like Paul, speak of the participation of the Gentiles in Gospel privileges; yet he must have held the same view on the subject, only his work was not that of the Apostle to the Gentiles.

5. The manner in which the Old Testament is quoted in the Epistle to the Hebrews makes against the authorship of Paul. In all his known Epistles the Apostle makes use not only of the Septuagint, but also of the Hebrew text, quoting sometimes it would seem from memory, and combining the Greek version with a closer rendering of his own; on the contrary, the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews cites exclusively the Septuagint, and draws an argument even from its inaccurate rendering of the Hebrew text; (see especially chap. x. 5—7, where the Septuagint has the words *σῶνα δὲ κατηρίσω*, while the Hebrew text should be rendered “mine ears hast thou opened.”) From this mode of quoting the Old Testament it would appear that the author of this Epistle did not possess that knowledge of the Hebrew which St. Paul had. This circumstance has not escaped the observation of ancient impugnors of the Pauline authorship of the Epistle; see Hieron. in Isaiah vi. 9; (vol. iv., p. 97, Vallar. Ven.) “*Pauli quoque idcirco ad Hebræos epistola contradicatur, quod ad Hebræos scribens utatur testimoniis quæ in Hebræis voluminibus non habentur.*”

These arguments against the probability of its having the Apostle as its author are so strong, that there must be some conclusive evidence of the contrary from history to refute them. But, as has been seen, this is wanting. The early Church speaks at most doubtfully. In later time the Roman Church acknowledged the Epistle to the Hebrews as a work of Paul, thereby making up the number of his Epistles to be fourteen. The early reformers, Luther and Melancthon, argued against its Pauline origin; and only in later times did the contrary opinion prevail, which now is given up for the most part by recent commentators. The question remains whether, though not of direct Pauline composition, the Epistle was not either written under the Apostle's influence, or coloured by his teaching, or emanating from a disciple of his. And this question may be answered in the affirmative, while its direct authorship by Paul is denied. The style, the mode of treatment of the subjects discussed, the manner in which quotations are made, and the absence

of the Apostle's name, for which no sufficient reason is ever assigned; all these things make against the view that Paul wrote the Epistle; but, on the contrary, it breathes a very Pauline spirit, and its importance and canonicity have been recognized in the Church from very early times. So much has its relationship to St. Paul's teaching been acknowledged, that two companions of his have been regarded as its probable writers, Barnabas and Apollos. To the latter, as a man of eloquence, did it seem natural to assign the composition of a writing so remarkable for its beautiful and flowing style. But no work of Apollos has come down to us, and therefore it is impossible to judge by comparison what claims he may have. And the possession of the gift of eloquence in speech is no warrant for the possession also of a pure, clear, and beautiful style in writing. In the case even of great orators we know the two powers are not necessarily combined. He is not suggested by any ancient Christian writer as the author. To Barnabas has this Epistle been assigned, as by Tertullian. Of course so early an authority is of weight as the opinion thus entertained. But we can form no judgment on the point of its authorship by this companion of Paul since we possess no certainly authentic writing by Barnabas. The (so called) Epistle by him is at best of doubtful authority. If it were genuine we should possess a certain argument against his authorship; for the writer of the Epistle by Barnabas could not have written that to the Hebrews.

Erasmus was inclined to maintain that Clemens Romanus was the writer; but the sentences in the first, and undoubtedly genuine, Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians, which, in contents and manner, remind us of the Epistle to Hebrews, are clearly only imitations and citations from this latter. And there is no other comparison to be made between the two Epistles. It is scarcely possible to conceive that Clement, who wrote the Epistle to the Corinthians, could be also the author of this to the Hebrews. There remains one friend and companion of Paul who might be the author of this work, and that is Luke. In the early Church he is named as the translator or amanuensis of Paul, in reference to this Epistle. Now we have compositions by Luke which enable us to form some estimate of his manner as a writer. And he seems to combine certain qualifications which were requisite in this case. He was a constant companion of Paul for years, and an intimate friend. He was deeply versed in the learning of the time; he was the master of an excellent and clear Greek style; he was deeply imbued with the mode



of thought of his great companion, and yet a man of original thought and way of expression. And Heb. ii. 3, compared with St. Luke i. 2, shews us the writer in both cases to have been one who had received his information from the testimony of others. To no one else can the authorship be assigned with so much probability as to Luke, as no one else unites these same qualifications, with so little to be urged against his claims on this point. But there *is* one difficulty which shall be mentioned. It has been thought to decide against the opinion of Luke's authorship, that he was, according to Colossians iv. 14 (compared with chap. iv. 11), a Gentile Christian. In the salutation made in Colossians iv. 11, those are mentioned who are Jews *οἱ ὄντες ἐκ περιτομῆς*, while later on in verse 14 the salutations of others are mentioned, evidently not of the circumcision. It has been argued that this Epistle is clearly written by one who was a Jew by birth, since it evidences such close acquaintance with Jewish rites; but, on the contrary, it may be maintained that a Jew by birth was hardly likely to take such a view of the meaning of the Old Testament ordinances as this writer does. But a Gentile Christian like Luke would have sufficient information to write this Epistle *at the suggestion and under the guidance of St. Paul*. And this seems the most probable conclusion at which we can arrive concerning this important book of the New Testament, that it was written by an immediate follower and companion of Paul, who was deeply imbued with the views of the Apostle, and at the same time a writer who had his own style and form of expression. Such an one was Luke the Evangelist. That the Epistle did not proceed directly from the pen or dictation of the Apostle Paul has, it seems, been sufficiently made out in the preceding arguments.

H. D.

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### INSPIRATION.

BEING absent at the time from England I did not receive the last October number until a long while after its publication, and have had my hands so full of work ever since I did, that I have not been able to answer "A Rector's" reply, p. 184, to a former letter of mine in answer to his statement that our Lord and his Apostles did not understand Hebrew. There are three points in his reply. 1st. That Luke iv. 18, 19, is not an exact quotation from the Hebrew, but takes rather from the LXX. Your readers will find

the subject of quotations from the Old Testament in the New treated of in Horne's *Introduction*, and in an excellent article in Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, under the head of "Old Testament," vol. ii., p. 621, by the Rev. J. F. Thrupp, late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. The *crucial test*, as regards the subject of "A Rector's" letter, is, not whether the LXX. is sometimes or even most frequently quoted rather than the Hebrew, but whether the LXX. is ever corrected by the original Hebrew. When the correction is important, and fundamental points, specially such as are connected with the humiliation of Messiah, are concerned, this latter is the case. See especially John xix. 37; 1 Cor. xv. 54. In many, rather in most cases, the LXX. is followed; not always exactly, indeed, but very often with some variation; yet so that the quotation is nevertheless nearer to the LXX. than the Hebrew; the LXX. being at that time accessible to a much larger number of readers, on the whole, than the Hebrew; and the New Testament being, for obvious reasons, written in Greek, not in Hebrew. 2ndly. "A Rector" would find it very hard indeed, I believe, to furnish evidence of the LXX.'s having been read in the Jewish synagogues, and not the original Hebrew which the Jews read, and cling to, even to the present day, all over the world; though, in a large number of cases, they understand it still less, perhaps, than did the people of the generation among which our Lord lived and conversed. 3rdly. When "A Rector" says that the Holy Ghost "cannot contradict Himself," I freely admit it; but when he says, in the same sentence, "He cannot *vary from* Himself," he uses an *ambiguous term*, which is not admissible in correct reasoning. All "variation" is not "contradiction;" and the Gospels, specially the synoptic Gospels, furnish abundant proof that the Holy Ghost is often pleased to vary from Himself.

As to what "A Rector" says of the German notion of a *pseudo-Isaiah*, it is a question too long to enter on here; but your readers will find an admirable article on that also in Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, vol. i.

Nice, 13th March, 1867.

EDWARD BILEY.

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## NOTICES OF BOOKS.

*Unspoken Sermons.* By GEORGE MAC DONALD. London : Strachan and Co.

It is a very difficult task to write a short notice of a book like this. It is a kind of book to be spoken of rather with affection as a dear friend, than to be coolly criticized. Like all true words worth uttering, whether by mouth or pen, these of Mr. Mac Donald's are "living, having hands and feet." To those who know him they recall a thousand times over the tones of his voice, the expression of his face, and his whole manner. And nobody can read them at all without feeling that they are the utterance of his very soul, the manifestations of what is thoroughly real and genuine in his truest self. The *Unspoken Sermons*, indeed, will by no means be accepted as orthodox, either in form or substance; but if they were wholly mistaken in their conclusions—which we are very far indeed from thinking that they are—it is still most difficult to understand how the narrowest-minded critic could consider them "unsafe." They bring every one who reads them into the very presence of the Living God, and remind him that not only what he says and does, but what he genuinely believes and really is will be tested by God's consuming fire. If, therefore, these *Unspoken Sermons* should lead any one into dogmatic error, they will at any rate lead him into spiritual truth, and teach him to cry out for that light by which all the darkness, both of the intellect and of the spirit, will one day be scattered.

It might be said that these *Unspoken Sermons* are full of very subtle thought, if it were not much more true and much more to the purpose to say that they are full of the most childlike simplicity. Little children are constantly shaming us by taking us at our word in all that we tell them about God; they make us feel that all our big words are empty of meaning, and are made so big and pompous and foreign, almost for the very purpose of concealing our unbelief. Now, Mr. Mac Donald in a very similar way manifestly takes God at His word, and plainly believes that the whole material universe might rush back again into chaos sooner than that one word of the Living God should fail. Those phenomena which cover the whole field of natural science, and to which its widest and subtlest generalizations are confined, are to him parables of the kingdom of heaven. God himself is to him immeasurably more real than any of the works of God

or any written book. Therefore he can always "trust the larger hope." The Bible is to him most precious, not because it commits the Father of the spirits of all flesh "to black and white," but because it brings a message to us concerning His very self, and enables us to trust Him immeasurably far beyond all His promises. It matters nothing to Mr. Mac Donald that some grand glory of the future, some divine triumph of righteousness and love in the consummation of all things, when every dead soul shall have found in Christ the resurrection and the life, can support itself by the explicit terms of no "text of Scripture." Shall the heart of the child deal with the heavenly Father as if He were a mean and tricky man, who never can be trusted beyond the terms of some legal contract? It is much, indeed, to be able to believe everything that God has promised; but God's promises are given to us that they may raise us into that far higher spiritual condition,—a perfect trust in Himself.

And this reminds us that Mr. Mac Donald really *believes* that God made man in His own image—that, therefore, on the one hand God is man, though more than man, and man is a partaker of the divine nature. Thus he says (pp. 19—22), "Childhood belongs to the divine nature. Obedience, then, is as divine as will, service as divine as rule. How? Because they are one in their nature, they are both a doing of the truth. The love in them is the same; the Fatherhood and the Sonship are one, save that the Fatherhood looks down lovingly, and the Son looks up lovingly. Love is all. And God is all in all. He is ever seeking to get down to us, to be the divine man to us. And we are ever saying: 'That be far from thee, Lord!' We are careful, in our unbelief, over the divine dignity, of which he is too grand to think. Better pleasing to God, it needs little daring to say, is the audacity of Job, who, rushing into His presence, and flinging the door of His presence-chamber to the wall, like a troubled, it may be angry but yet faithful child, calls aloud in the ear of Him whose perfect Fatherhood he has yet to learn, 'Am I a sea or a whale, that thou settest a watch over me?' Let us dare, then, to climb the height of divine truth to which this utterance of our Lord would lead us.

"Does it not lead us up hither—that the devotion of God to His creatures is perfect? that He does not think about Himself, but about them? that he wants nothing for Himself, but finds His blessedness in the outgoing of blessedness? . . . In this, then, is God like the child: that He is simply and altogether our Friend, our Father—our more than Friend, Father, and Mother—our infinite love-perfect God.

Grand and strong beyond all that human imagination can conceive of poet-thinking and kingly action ; He is delicate beyond all that human tenderness can conceive of husband or wife, homely beyond all that human heart can conceive of father or mother. He has not two thoughts about us. With Him all is simplicity of purpose, and meaning, and effort, and end—namely, that we should be as He is, think the same thoughts, mean the same things, possess the same blessedness. It is so plain that any one may see it, every one ought to see it, every one shall see it. It must be so. He is utterly true and good to us, nor shall anything withstand His will."

It is out of the question in this short notice to do more than express the warmest commendation ; though a single glance at the contents of these *Unspoken Sermons* will shew that Mr. Mac Donald is not among those preachers who shirk the most pressing questions which offer themselves to the intellects and consciences of men. The sermon on "It shall not be forgiven" is a model, not only of spiritual insight, but of complete honesty. And the dreadful dogma of the everlasting torment of the wicked is presented in that light which seems to us at once to reveal both its unspeakable falseness and horror, and also the divine truth of which it is a hideous counterfeit. With one more quotation, we heartily commend this little book to every class of readers, not with any silly affectation of critical superiority, but with simple thankfulness to its author, and ever-deepening wonder that men can anywhere be found who are capable of regarding such teaching as either untrue or unsafe.

"Be ye, therefore, perfect, even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect.' 'Love your enemies, and ye shall be the children of the highest.' It is the divine glory to forgive.

"Yet a time will come when the Unchangeable will cease to forgive ; when it will no more belong to His perfection to love his enemies ; when He will look calmly, and have His children look calmly, too, upon the ascending smoke of the everlasting torments of our strong brothers, our beautiful sisters. Nay, alas, the brothers are weak now, the sisters are ugly now !

"O brother, believe it not. 'O Christ,' the redeemed would cry, 'where art thou, our strong Jesus ? Come, our grand brother. See the suffering brothers down below ! See the tormented sisters ! Come, Lord of Life, Monarch of Suffering ! Redeem them. For us, we will go down into the burning, and see whether we cannot at least carry through the howling flames a drop of water to cool their tongues.'

"Believe it not, my brother, lest it quench forgiveness in thee, and

thou be not forgiven, but go down with those thy brothers to the torment; whence, if God were not better than that phantom *thou* callest God, thou shouldest *never* come out; but whence assuredly thou shalt come out when thou hast paid the uttermost farthing; when thou hast learnt of God in hell what thou didst refuse to learn of Him upon the gentle-toned earth; what the sunshine and the rain could not teach thee, nor the sweet compunctions of the seasons, nor the stately visitings of the moon and the eventide, nor the human face divine, nor the word that was nigh thee in thy heart and in thy mouth—the story of Him who was mighty to save, because He was perfect in love.

“O, Father, Thou art all-in-all, perfect beyond the longings of Thy children, and we are all and altogether Thine. Thou wilt make us pure, and loving, and free. We shall stand fearless in Thy presence, because perfect in Thy love. Then shall Thy children be of good cheer, infinite in the love of each other, eternal in Thy love.” W.K.

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*Whose are the Fathers? or, The Teaching of certain Anglo-Catholics on the Church and its Ministry, contrary alike to the Holy Scriptures, to the Fathers of the first six centuries, and to those of the Reformed Church of England. With a Catena Patrum of the first six centuries of the English Church of the latter half of the sixteenth century.* By JOHN HARRISON, Curate of Pitsmoor, Sheffield. London: Longmans, Green, and Co.

THIS is an exceedingly good book, and likely enough to be useful in these days of ritual extravagance. Nothing, indeed, is more surprising than the effrontery with which “Anglo-Catholics” appeal to the Fathers and the Church; and it may well be doubted whether any amount of argument, or even of complete demonstration, will bring them to a better mind. There is in literature scarcely any fallacy more potent than what may be called the fallacy of quotations. Not one reader in a thousand ever verifies a quotation; and almost everybody takes it for granted that an author would never dare to refer his readers to a passage in the works of some earlier writer which either had no existence or no relation of any kind to the matter in discussion. But this kind of dishonesty abounds in the writings of a certain class of divines. They constantly refer to so-called writings of the Fathers which are now admitted by all competent scholars to be spurious—in other words, not to be writings of the Fathers at all; and when the quotations are really to be found in some genuine book, they frequently furnish coincidences which are merely verbal and not real, and which for that reason are grossly misleading.

It is very surprising, indeed, that so many persons who know nothing whatever about the matter should be influenced in any way whatever by an appeal to the Fathers. The Fathers have really no special authority; they are of all degrees of wisdom and insight; and for the most part their writings are valuable *only* as furnishing the materials of the early history of the Church. When one of them tells us, for instance, that there were four Gospels, and neither more nor less, because there were four cardinal virtues, and four rivers in Eden, and four pillars to support the world, everybody can see that that sort of teaching is mere rubbish, and the only worth of such teaching is this, that it testifies to the fact of the general acceptance of four Gospels. Very few people now-a-days would rely upon the theological judgments of the Fathers, any more than they would rely upon the historical judgments of Herodotus; it is highly doubtful indeed whether Herodotus would not be much the safer guide. Yet there unquestionably are many people who find a kind of pleasure and a sense of security in persuading themselves that they belong to the true Church, and that the stupidest and most demoralizing of all their dogmas and practices may be justified by appealing to one of the early Fathers. For such persons—if only their eccentricity has not passed into absolute mania—this book of Mr. Harrison's may be strongly recommended. It cannot, of course, teach the Roman Catholics, because they have voluntarily accepted final conclusions on all these subjects; they are not only bound to submit to the authority of the Fathers, but they are pledged to a certain interpretation of their writings, and as it were a certain canon of their genuine books. To agree with infallibility is always a most foolish waste of time.

To other persons Mr. Harrison's book may be strongly recommended. Though he makes comparatively slight allusions to recent developments of Ritualism, he very truly says that "he has struck at the root of the tree, and not attempted to pluck off its leaves. Ritualism is the natural and legitimate fruit of this Anglican doctrine on the Christian ministry, and Dr. Pusey and others have publicly recognized it as such" (Preface, p. 6). The title-page sufficiently explains the method of Mr. Harrison's work. He has shewn, by a very complete series of quotations, that the Anglo-Catholics are not even justified in their very haughty assumptions of superiority either by the Fathers of the Catholic or of the Anglican Church. He is quite successful in proving this, or at any rate in proving what would be equally fatal to Anglo-Catholic pretensions—namely, that the writings of the Fathers are either opposed to the Anglo-Catholics, or are themselves a hopeless

mass of absurdities and contradictions. In very many cases the latter alternative is nearer to the truth ; and a *Catena Patrum*, both Catholic and Anglican, may easily be compiled on both sides of this controversy. This was the object, for instance, in part of a treatise by Mr. William Cooke on *The Power of the Priesthood in Absolution*, with an appendix containing quotations from the most eminent divines. The fact is, that the language of the early Fathers bears unmistakeable evidence that they were passing into, though they had not yet reached—and the language of the Anglican Fathers bears equally unmistakeable evidence that they were passing out of, though they had not yet escaped—those superstitions which characterized what we may well consider as the dark ages of the Christian Church.

This large book (728 pages) deserves a much longer notice ; but without entering into details of criticism which could even pretend to be exhaustive, we very heartily commend Mr. Harrison's volume to all those persons on both sides of the great religious controversy who really wish to know "Whose are the Fathers." W. K.

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*A Cyclopædia of Biblical Geography, Biography, Natural History, and General Knowledge.* By Rev. JOHN LAWSON, and Rev. JOHN M. WILSON. In 2 vols. Edinburgh : A. Fullarton and Co.

OUR contemporaries seem bent upon expiating the neglect of their fathers in the matter of Bible Dictionaries. The new era was practically inaugurated by the work of Dr. Kitto, which has since been revised, and quite recently remodelled, under the direction of Dr. W. L. Alexander. Dr. Fairbairn's is another Scottish enterprise in the same direction ; and now we have a third. We say nothing of Dr. Eadie's, which belongs to a different class, and we only say that we are not unmindful of English Dictionaries of the Bible, from the copious work of Dr. Wm. Smith to the less elaborate ones issued by Longmans and Cassells. Our present object in mentioning so many books is to introduce the remark, that the one now before us differs from them all in a variety of features.

It consists of two large volumes, beautifully printed and illustrated, and on excellent paper ; and, so far as outward appearance goes, it leaves nothing to be desired. As for the matter, it contains a large store of information, and many of the articles are very well written. Some of the articles are copious essays, supplying information of a valuable kind. The tone of these articles is for the most part in harmony with received opinions, though it cannot be said that they always



agree with the actual tendencies of scientific investigation. It is also worthy of notice, that the writers of different articles do not in every case adopt the same conclusions. We must suppose, for example, that the articles "Flood" and "Geology" are not from the same pen, and it is apparent that "Egypt" and the "Exode" are by different hands. It is of course difficult, if not impossible, to compile a work of this sort with the aid of different writers, and to secure perfect unity of opinion.

Looking at the structure of the work, we find that the subjects treated under the four letters A to E occupy the whole of the first volume, and 200 pages of the second. The consequence is a great disproportion in point of copiousness between the former and later parts of the work. A similar disproportion is apparent in the treatment of certain subjects. Some occupy a large share, and others, capable of similar development, are either very briefly handled, or quite omitted. "Inspiration" is dismissed in six lines, and "Miracles" are not treated of at all, neither is "Prophecy." Most of the books of Scripture receive but little notice, and the same is true of quite a number of topics, which invite critical treatment. Several of the topographical and geographical articles are copious, as also are many of the biographical ones; but in both departments there is frequently too much brevity. Perhaps it would be right to say that no class of subjects is handled with either uniformity of fulness or of brevity. It is right also to say that some topics, not discussed where we should look for them, are noticed elsewhere: thus, under the head of "Bible," we have some account of revelation, inspiration, prophecy, and miracles, though not a formal investigation of them. Of the longer articles—and some of them very long—we mention "Asia," "Bible," "Botany," "Christ Jesus," "Egypt," "Exode, alternative view of," "Jerusalem," and "Moses." The longest of them all is that on the Exodus, and this differs in its principles so much from the general run of the work, that it would have been better published separately. The writer of it would then have stood a chance of having his theory examined; but, as it is, his contribution will be looked upon as very much out of place. The one hundred and forty pages of this dissertation, no doubt, contain many ingenious suggestions, and the results of much reading and research, but tending as they do to contravene the principles of the article on Egypt, they cannot be reconciled with the plan of the work. The author labours to prove that the Gulf of Akaba is the Red Sea of the Exodus, crossed by the Israelites at what was once its head. He holds that the Mizraim or Egypt of the bondage of Israel was not our Egypt, but a country near his Red Sea;

That the "river" of Genesis and Exodus was not our Nile, but a stream which connected the Mediterranean with the Gulf of Suez ; and that Goshen, Horeb, and Sinai have all been similarly misplaced by us. Our readers are aware that Dr. Beke and some others have attempted to effect a somewhat similar revolution in our notions of this part of Biblical geography. The question, however, is one which we cannot here pretend to enter upon. So far as we have been able to examine it, we have seen no reason for abandoning all our traditional ideas ; but we have also seen that, when details are investigated and witnesses cross-examined, a number of real and vexatious difficulties present themselves. The industrious author of the article we refer to has given much attention to certain papers by Dr. Hincks and others which formerly appeared in this Journal ; and for that reason, if for no other, we ought to give prominence to what he has written. But apart from this, the essay merits perusal by all who are curious in such matters.

As we have said, Messrs. Fullarton's *Cyclopædia* contains some excellent illustrations, and a large body of information which will assist the Scripture student. We wish the plan had been consistent, and that the treatment had been more uniform ; that some articles had been longer, and others shorter ; that literary and critical questions had been more deeply investigated ; and that the space occupied by quite unimportant names and their supposed pronunciation had been given to matters which have been quite omitted. We note too, that the pronunciation is not always correctly nor even uniformly given—that the latest authorities for facts have not been always consulted. We are fully aware of the obstacles to the perfecting of a dictionary of the Bible ; but we believe that, when such a work is started, it is most profitable in the long run to fix its plan and proportions beforehand. Of the numerous books of the kind now accessible, there are few that do not lie open to serious objections, as meant for general use. There are objections to this ; but it is a handsome work, and we say once more that it will be found of great use to those who are not able to avail themselves of a large library of modern books.

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*Notes on the Origin and Episcopate of the Bohemian Brethren.* By DANIEL BENHAM, Esq., Member of the Chronological Institute of London. London : Dalton and Lucy. 1867.

THIS is a useful contribution to a knowledge of modern ecclesiastical history. It does not however exhaust the subject, which is treated at

great length—as it deserves to be—by Palacky in his *History of Bohemia*. Had Mr. Benham made use of Palacky's work, he would have both made his own more attractive to the reader, and have avoided such errors as that of ascribing a wholesale destruction of the Taborites to George of Podiebrad. One of the objections commonly made to the Episcopate of the Bohemian brethren is, that no claim appears to have been laid to it until a comparatively late period; and that the evidence in support of the claim is also not of so early date as ought to be required to prove the point. Palacky in the first part of his fifth and last volume—published in 1865, or rather printed in 1865, and published in 1866—page 192, gives an undoubted instance of this claim at a conference held between the Utraquists and Bohemian brethren in 1478. The latter said: "When we separated from the Roman Church and from you, we determined by lot which of us should be bishop and which priest. And when the lot fell upon three, and upon one of these to be bishop, there arose amongst us a difference of opinion as to whether this should remain so; at last we agreed to send a deputation to a Waldensian bishop, who then—said Michael with respect to himself—consecrated me bishop, and after my return to my brethren I myself consecrated one of the three priests a bishop." Palacky says in a note: "This oldest authentic intelligence of the part taken by a Waldensian bishop at the foundation of the unity of the brethren is worth notice; otherwise only a Waldensian priest and not a bishop used to be mentioned. We must not conceal that the old historians of the Bohemian brethren, *e.g.* Blahoslav and others, possessed only an incomplete knowledge of their earliest history, as the original records of the Unity were destroyed at Senftenberg as early as the end of the fifteenth century, and their archives afterwards suffered considerable injury through a fire at Leitomysl in 1546. The Conference above mentioned is misplaced by Blahoslav in the year 1479, and he can give no further information about it."

The orthography of Bohemian names in Mr. Benham's work is very unfortunate. A second edition, after careful comparison of Palacky's history, would be a great boon to all interested in that most excellent body—the Moravian, formerly the Bohemian brethren.

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W.

*The Godhead of Jesus* (Hulsean Lectures for 1866); and *two Sermons preached at Cambridge*. By Rev. E. H. PEROWNE, B.D. Cambridge: Deighton, Bell and Co.

WE wish Mr. Perowne's book had been larger; but we must thank

him for what he gives us. The first of the Hulsean lectures is introductory, and contains valuable suggestions bearing upon the great but disputed truth of which he discourses. The second and third lectures treat of the sinlessness of Jesus, and the fourth is of His Divine nature. The texts of the two added sermons are John i. 29 and Phil. iii. 10. A work of this description cannot be adequately characterized in the few lines at our disposal, but we may say of it that it sets before us many considerations and facts of great interest. The reasoning of the argumentative portion is clear and connected, and gradually leads us on from one elevation to another, until we reach the lofty conclusion that the Godhead of Jesus is taught even in the three first Gospels. The sermons on the "Lamb of God," and the "Power of Christ's Resurrection" are a fitting and useful accompaniment. We hope Mr. Perowne will hereafter develop more fully the topics he has here so ably handled. He has by no means exhausted the vein upon which he has struck, and he is in all respects well qualified for further efforts in the same direction. As the matter now stands, we have a specimen and pattern of what may be done. True, the argument is in a manner complete, but it might be more amply reinforced and illustrated. For practical reasons the form of lectures and sermons commends itself to the clergy, many of whom, we doubt not, will gladly endorse our recommendation of this volume, and our wish that it had been larger.

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*Public Worship: the best methods of conducting it.* By the Rev. J. SPENCER PEARSALL. London: Jackson, Walford and Hodder.

THE author of this manual is a Congregationalist minister, who feels, with many of his brethren, that public worship in dissenting chapels may be conducted in a better mode than it usually is. He has for many years occupied a leading place among the ministers of his denomination, and is thoroughly conversant with what is customary. He seems to have not much faith in architectural splendours, but very much faith in the comely, and orderly, and solemn conduct of religious services. Everything should be attractive and for edification. The minister should perform a cheerful service, but a thoroughly religious one. He would have public prayer extempore, but without the anomalies and slovenlinesses which have too much characterized it; and every effort should be made to interest and enlist the congregation. Reading and singing are capable of no little improvement of manner, and require care and skill, and whatever may conduce to render them impressive. Preaching ought to be of the most earnest, thorough, and

instructive character. Under this head, Mr. Pearsall speaks favourably of the proposal for "an order of preachers." The chapter on the Lord's Supper contains a number of useful suggestions. Prayer meetings, family worship, and many other points are considered, and we think the author deserves the thanks of his community for his sober and wise remarks. The subject is one which we cannot here discuss, but we venture to recommend the book to those who are not of Mr. Pearsall's denomination: they may learn something, not only of dissenters, but *from* them.

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*The Unity of the Anglican Church; and the Succession of Irish Bishops.* By E. A. STOPFORD. Dublin: Hodges, Smith and Co.

SOME learned controversies are mere scholars' play, but that which Afchdeacon Stopford takes up is to many a serious matter. The author designates his book an answer to Dr. Brady, whose pamphlet was noticed in our last issue. The canonical succession of the English bishops and clergy has been often denied and ridiculed by Roman Catholic writers, and Anglican orders are repudiated by the Romish Church. We now have something similar in reference to the Irish branch of the Church, and hence the publication before us. Its author goes very fully into the question, and by an appeal to many documents of undoubted authenticity, establishes a claim which Dr. Brady will find it difficult to set aside.

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*Rest in Jesus.* By Rev. MAXWELL NICHOLSON. Edinburgh: W. Blackwood and Sons.

ANY one in search of a book for quiet reading, and on evangelical principles, will not be disappointed in the one before us. It comprises a series of chapters on "rest" in a variety of phases and relations, and is very beautifully written. It is neither critical nor controversial, but altogether practical and experimental.

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*Critical Notes on the Authorized English Version of the New Testament.* Second Edition. By SAMUEL SHARPE. London: J. R. Smith.

WE have here a substantial reprint of Mr. Sharpe's useful notes as they appeared in 1856. In calling them "useful" we do not wish to be understood as agreeing with them all: very far from that, we frequently quite object to the views of our laborious and learned friend. But even notes which we cannot agree with may be useful to us, as shewing that a text of Scripture can be viewed in more ways than one,

and our consequent duty to use all due means to ascertain the true sense. A very great many of the notes we quite approve of, and we should like to see them employed in any revision of the authorized version of the New Testament. Pending a consummation so devoutly to be wished for, we have much pleasure in announcing a new edition of Mr. Sharpe's little book.

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*Onward!* London : W. Mackintosh.

THE form of this little work is practical, and it is but right to say that the composition is generally good and sometimes excellent.

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*The Works of Henry Smith ; including Sermons, Treatises, Prayers, and Poems.* With Memoir, etc. Vol. II. Edinburgh : James Nichol.

THE two volumes of Henry Smith are worth much ; and their manifold excellencies remind us that we have in the history of his works a proof of the fickleness of taste. Born in 1560, and dying apparently about 1591, he was popular and applauded to an unusual degree. His sermons were eagerly heard, and as eagerly read, and yet no edition of his works appeared during nearly two centuries. For popularity he was the Spurgeon of the day, as appears from the Memoir which Fuller has left of him ; and really he must have deserved all the commendation he received, for his deep earnestness is as apparent to us as his eloquence was to those who called him the "Silver-tongued." The two volumes of his works consist of sermons, treatises, etc. One of the sermons was reprinted in this Journal in April, 1864, and we mention this to prove that we have not been unaware of his rare recommendations. His "God's arrow against Atheists" was, if we remember correctly, the first book we ever read in defence of revealed religion. This edition is excellently printed, and very cheap, and we hope the demand for it will be great.

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*Emanuel Swedenborg : his Life and Writings.* By WILLIAM WHITE. In Two Vols. London : Simpkin and Marshall.

WE do not at all accept the system called Swedenborgianism, nor do we look upon Swedenborg in the light of a prophet, but for all that we think Mr. White has found a hero for his subject. The work is well got up, and has portraits of Emanuel Swedenborg and his father. It is a most painstaking production, alike creditable to the intellect, the industry, and the candour of its author, who has set before us the life, character, and principles of Swedenborg more completely than pro-

bably any one else has done. His admission of much that emanated from that singular genius does not blind him to sundry eccentricities and extravagancies. We have read a good part of the work, and have found it excessively interesting, although we do not disguise our deep dislike of very much that scarcely keeps within the bounds of delicacy. The apparent madness of some of Swedenborg's assertions, and the sensuousness of so much of his imagery, will always, we hope, interfere with belief in his supernatural pretensions. At present we say no more, but regarding the work as one of considerable importance, and executed with undeniable ability, we shall arrange for a full and careful review of it in our next number.

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*The Book of Praises: being the Book of Psalms according to the authorized version, with Notes, Original and Selected.* By WILLIAM HENRY ALEXANDER. Edited by his Family. London: Jackson, Walford, and Hodder.

In this volume we have the Psalms of the authorized version, arranged in parallelisms, and accompanied by notes. The scholarship of the original notes is not profound, but respectable; and the selected notes are for the most part fitted for ordinary readers, who will find the book at once interesting and edifying.

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*Endless Sufferings not the doctrine of Scripture.* By THOMAS DAVIS, M.A. London: Longmans, Green, and Co.

WE have here a second edition of Mr. Davis's clever discourses against eternal sufferings. The preacher believes in the ultimate destruction of the impenitent. Those who are studying the subject should read this book.

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*The Church: its Origin, its History, its present Position.* By Drs. LUTHARDT, KAHNIS, and BRUCKNER. Translated from the German by SOPHIA TAYLOR. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark.

THIS volume contains nine lectures delivered at Leipsic during the winter of 1865. The lectures are in groups of three each. I. Revelation in its historical development:—1. History of the Old Testament revelation. 2. The history of Jesus Christ. 3. The history of the Apostolic Church. II. The course of Church history:—1. The ancient Church. 2. The mediæval Church. 3. The modern Church. III. The Church of the present:—1. The present condition of the Church. 2. The present tasks of the Church. 3. The present

prospects of the Church. The first course is by Dr. Luthardt, the second by Dr. Kahnis, and the third by Dr. Brückner. We have been specially interested in the second and third lectures of the first course, the third lecture of the second course, and the whole of the third course. Some of them touch upon matters of no great moment to us, and certain views belong rather to Germany than to England, but the lectures we have mentioned are none the less most welcome, and calculated to be particularly useful in the cause of an enlightened orthodoxy.

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*Ecce, Deus. Essays on the Life and Doctrine of Jesus Christ. With Controversial Notes on "Ecce, Homo."* Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark.

SOME time ago the battle of the critics raged around the Pentateuch. The assault was made at a hundred points of attack, and the storming party were confident of success. However, they will now at least confess that they were warmly received; and if they have not raised the siege, they will own that the citadel is not without defenders. But Bishop Colenso and his friends are not now so prominent. Ernest Renan led on the attack which the Bishop of Natal threatened, and Christ and the Gospels have become the centres of interest. Time would fail us to speak of the Dorners and Langes, the Tischendorfs and De Pressenses, whose names have grown familiar to English ears in this conflict. There is one book which has excited an interest equal to them all; need we say that we refer to *Ecce, Homo*. Even now that its author has been proclaimed, the book retains its distinctiveness, and the personality of its writer is hardly thought of. That remarkable work has naturally prompted others, and among them the one named at the head of this notice, and also anonymous, though less mysteriously so. *Ecce, Deus* is probably the production of a Scottish clergyman, not unknown as a preacher and a writer. Whoever he may be, he is a man of many thoughts, wields a free and ready pen, is familiar with the Gospel facts, and has considerable power of illustration. It will be admitted also that he writes with earnestness and feeling. There are, however, marks of haste in the production, and a neglect of the *labor limæ*, which diminish the impression the volume might have produced. If there had been less of the rhetorical, and more of the calm and quiet severity and force of logic; if the style had been less frequently verbose, and if the ideas had been more simply and sharply defined, it would have been a better book. We have read it with interest, but have often encountered passages which



savour of a certain precipitancy, bordering upon rashness. There are, in fact, few resemblances between this oracle and that which prompted its utterances. If its drift and scope are more conspicuous, it is not calculated to make men think so much.

*Ecce, Homo*, is avowedly a fragment, and its author reserved its completion to another occasion. But *Ecce, Deus*, is complete, so far as it goes, and tells us all it has undertaken to say. Its author says it is not a reply to the other work, but it will be accepted as a sort of manifesto against it, and it controverts various positions assumed in the *Ecce, Homo*.

The *Ecce, Deus*, consists of eighteen chapters on the person, life, and doctrine of Jesus, and has a concluding chapter of "controversial notes" on *Ecce, Homo*. Although we consider these chapters as less intellectual and more imaginative than those of the book which prompted them, we cannot but commend at once the design and real ability of their author. The design was to bring into higher relief the divinity of Christ in its association with His humanity; and surely this was a noble and honourable aim. The ability of the author is manifest even in passages to the structure and very conception of which we should object. His conception of the divine character of Jesus and of His lessons and life is positive, although he fails sometimes, often perhaps, in setting it forth in the best manner. His treatment of some of the doctrines is peculiar, as may be seen, for example, in the chapter on "Eternal Punishments," which he upholds. There are singularities of expression and of thought which will not please everybody. Thus in the chapter on the "Cross of Christ" we read, "God suffered more than the sinner can ever suffer on account of sin." And again: "In God's suffering we see man's worth. Man was cut out of the very heart of God." Of the author's doctrinal views we cannot now speak at length; but we may say that in form at least they not seldom deviate from the old orthodoxy. This remark touches upon what we call one of the merits of the book, and that is, its tolerable freedom from the restraint of conventionalisms and sects. The writer believes in Christ, and the Bible, and the Church, but he has conquered for himself liberty of speech and sympathy and thought. Whether the freedom asserted has been always wisely used is another question; but in this age of inquiry it is a consolation to know that men are learning more generally their right to freedom; let us hope that they will more generally learn the right use thereof. As for the author of *Ecce, Deus*, we have no reason to say that he has abused

his liberty, though liberty has its laws, and we wish he had been more logical. The book would have probably been very effective if spoken on a platform in the form of lectures; but we doubt whether it will produce any very permanent impression in its printed form. We can praise it on a variety of accounts, but its defects as a controversial work are all the more apparent that *Ecce, Homo*, exists in such close proximity to it.

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*The Massoreth ha-massoreth of Elias Levita, being an exposition of the Massoretic notes on the Hebrew Bible, or the ancient critical apparatus of the Old Testament.* In Hebrew, with an English translation, and critical and explanatory notes. By CHRISTIAN D. GINSBURG, LL.D. London: Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer.

DR. GINSBURG displays great and varied erudition in this work; indeed there are few, if any, Hebrew scholars among us who could have accomplished it so thoroughly as he has done. In the life of Elias Levita, prefixed to the volume, he has shewn his extraordinary familiarity with Hebrew literature. The perusal of it must afford unmixed satisfaction to those who take an interest in this curious and little understood branch of learning. Elias was born in 1468, and ended a long and laborious life in 1549. His book on the Massorah, here printed in Hebrew and English, deals with an immense number of peculiarities in the Jewish Scripture, and explains many, which, without such aid, must remain obscure and enigmatical to the majority of readers. The original text is placed side by side with the translation, and copious and curious footnotes are added. At the end of the book are some valuable indexes which it may be desirable to specify. The first index is one of texts massoretically annotated, and there are very many of them. The second is of massoretic lists quoted entire. The third is of massoretic terms and abbreviations explained in the work. The fourth is of massoretic lists common to this work, and the *Ochla ve-Ochla*. The fifth is of topics and names. These indexes will shew at a glance the immense number of the details touched upon, and will render reference easy to any topic advanced. As for the treatise itself, it is a remarkable illustration of the patient and minute criticism to which the Hebrew Scriptures have been subjected. Various readings, marginal notes, irregularities and eccentricities of writing and of pointing, have been religiously observed and chronicled; even the number of times the respective letters of the alphabet occur has been ascertained and recorded. It is quite out of our power, in a brief

notice, to convey an adequate notion of the multitudinous observations which Dr. Ginsburg has here placed within the reach of every student. These observations are not all of equal importance, but among them are many which are very valuable and instructive; and we have felt this so strongly that we think all who read the Hebrew Bible should have this book at their elbow. Real lovers of the Old Scriptures will desire to read it from beginning to end, and such as cannot do this at once will wish to adopt it for constant consultation, which the index of texts will enable them readily to do. The curious things comprised in it will, some of them, seem only curious, but as a whole it will much facilitate the understanding of the Hebrew Scriptures, and of the grammar of the language in which they are written. The editor formerly laid us under great obligations by his edition of Jacob Ben Chajim's Introduction to the Rabbinic Bible; an essay the English version of which first appeared in this Journal in 1863, and which was afterwards published separately with the Hebrew text (London, 1865). The present publication is an appropriate sequel to the former, and we trust it will receive the patronage it so well deserves. In these busy times few men have the leisure or the encouragement to undertake such tasks as Dr. Ginsburg delights in, but we hope that he, at least, will be sustained in his endeavours to promote among us the knowledge and study of Hebrew literature in general, and of the original Jewish Scriptures in particular. Such men are worthy of all honour, and are in truth an honour to our literature.

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*Micah, the Priest-maker: a Handbook on Ritualism.* By T. BINNEY.  
London: Jackson, Walford, and Hodder.

THIS is a very interesting little book, written by one whose sympathies are not in favour of Ritualism, but whose candour and impartiality are unquestionable. After some explanatory statements for the information of the uninitiated, Mr. Binney considers the question whether the vestments are Scriptural. He believes them neither to be required by Scripture, nor a development of Scriptural principles. We believe so too; and that the only ground on which their defence can be plausibly undertaken is that of mere expediency. The next question examined is the legality of the vestments; and it is shewn that much may be said on both sides. The remainder of the book treats of the revised doctrines concerning priesthood, absolution and confession, the real presence, and baptism. The author admits that the Book of Common Prayer contains expressions which favour these opinions, but he sees

what has long been seen, that the voice of the Book is not always consistent with itself. We have read this most calmly written manual with much interest, and believe that, coming from an "outsider" of such well-established reputation, it deserves to be most carefully pondered. It is most agreeably written, and altogether free from declamation and rebuke.

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*On the Truth of Christianity, compiled from "Lessons on the Truth of Christianity," and other works of Archbishop Whately. With introduction, etc.* By ROBERT BARCLAY. Edited by S. HINDS, D.D., formerly Lord Bishop of Norwich. Enlarged third edition. London : Longmans, Green, and Co.

THIS book has obtained the decided commendation of several eminent divines, among whom are the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol, Dr. Osborne of the Wesleyans, Drs. Angus and Gotch of the Baptists, and Drs. G. Smith and Raleigh of the Congregationalists. It has also been most favourably noticed by impartial reviewers. Under these circumstances it may seem superfluous for us to praise it; but having some acquaintance with the book, and some experience of its utility among unbelievers, we cannot do less than endorse the opinions in its favour to which we have alluded. It is indeed a most excellent compilation, and should find a place in every theological library, especially in those designed for popular use and instruction. There is a cheap sixpenny edition which deserves to be widely disseminated. In addition to a preface and useful instruction, the book contains chapters on the principal topics of Christian evidences, including prophecies, miracles, and internal evidences. The notices of objections are exceedingly well managed, and the replies deserving of all attention. The position of the modern Jews is discussed, and we are glad of it, because it is very common for infidels to urge as an argument against the Gospel, its rejection by the very nation amid which it appeared. The peculiar and exclusive privileges which the Jews had enjoyed seem to have rendered them more hostile, even than the Gentiles, to that religion which set all nations on a common level. Our space forbids us to enter more fully into the details of this book, but we have much pleasure in recommending it as one which is adapted for extensive usefulness. It may be easily read and understood, but it is everywhere characterized by the acuteness and precision of the eminent writer from whose works its materials are derived.

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*A Plea for a New Translation of the Scriptures, with a Translation of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans.* By the Rev. ALFRED DEWES, M.A. London: Longmans, Green, and Co. 1866.

WE are always glad to see endeavours directed towards improvement, and there are few things, falling properly within the province of this Journal, in which improvement is more wanted than in the translation of the Scriptures which is appointed to be read publicly in the congregation. Mr. Dewes commences by justly remarking on the highflown, rhetorical, and inconsistent language of Bishop Ellicott, who "thankfully acknowledges" the present English Authorized Version "to be the best translation in the world," at the same time also acknowledging it to be "incorrect, inexact, insufficient, and obscure." He then proceeds to enter in general terms upon the defects and deficiencies of the Authorized Version, and brings forward a number of passages for the purpose of exhibiting them. But he has not been able to restrain himself from mixing up two things together—the correction of known errors in the Authorized Version, and the discussion of difficult and disputed passages, a matter in which he finds himself at issue with the majority of commentators. In discussing the rendering "hell," as applied to both Gehenna and Hades (not *Aides*, as Mr. Dewes writes it, forgetting the aspirate, and expressing the iota subscript contrary to custom), Mr. Dewes uses arguments which tend to the elimination of the word "hell" altogether out of the Scriptures. This might possibly be a question for a commission of translators to entertain; but it certainly is not a discussion which it is desirable to push forward in pleading for the necessity of a new translation. Neither does Mr. Dewes seem aware that "More," translated "Thou fool," is considered by the best commentators to be merely a Greek transcript of an Aramaic expression of a much stronger nature than "Raca." We are sorry that so much questionable matter has been introduced into a work with the general design of which we so fully sympathize.

We agree with Mr. Dewes that the "five clergymen" have not been successful in "striking the keynote upon which any authoritative revision of the English Bible, hereafter to be made, is to be based." But we cannot understand how he can imagine that Dr. Vaughan in translating ἐν τῇ ψεύδει "into that which is a lie" (Rom. i. 25), "apparently took ψεύδει as an adjective." Dr. Vaughan would have known, if Mr. Dewes does not, that the dative of the adjective ψεύδης would have been accented ψεύδει. When we turn to his own translation, we find him writing, "inasmuch as they perverted in their un-

truthfulness the truth God had taught them about Himself." The original words are: οἵτινες μετέλλαξαν τὴν ἀλήθειαν τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐν τῷ ψεύδει. Now, μετέλλαξαν does not mean "perverted," but simply "changed," or "altered;" τὴν ἀλήθειαν τοῦ Θεοῦ is represented by a paraphrase, not a translation, and thus any possibility of the English reader taking a different view of the words from Mr. Dewes is precluded; and ἐν τῷ ψεύδει certainly cannot mean "in their untruthfulness," although it may mean "in (or by) their lie," or perhaps even "falsehood." To our mind the rendering of this passage lies between: "Inasmuch as they by their lie altered the truth of God;" and "Inasmuch as they altered the truth of God into falsehood;" the former of which is based upon the principles of classical, the latter upon those of Hellenistic Greek.

We were much amused by the barricade Mr. Dewes found raised at p. 30 of Archbishop Trench's book *On the Authorized Version* against his further progress in perusing it. The Archbishop appears to have fondly imagined that "cherubin" is the singular of "cherubim," instead of the Chaldee plural of "cherub." But Mr. Dewes need not have gone so far as to Jerome's *Commentary on Ezekiel* to correct this grievous error. The *Te Deum* would have supplied enough: "To thee cherubin and seraphin continually do cry," where the words in question are manifestly plurals.

We take leave of Mr. Dewes, hoping to see him again in print, but cautioning him to avoid travelling out of the record, and going into long collateral discussions, when his object is to prove a single important point, and also reminding him that the object of a translation for public use is, not to press particular interpretations of difficult passages upon readers and hearers, but to enable them, as far as possible, both to form their own views, and to decide between those of commentators. His discussion on the words "Gehenna" and "Hades" would have been better placed among our pages than among his own. W.

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*The following Sermons, Pamphlets, etc., have been received:—*

The Unity of the Material and Spiritual Worlds. A Sermon by Rev. R. B. Kennard, M.A. London: Rivingtons.

The Doctrine of the Trinity treated as consistent with an appreciable Theory. By J. H. Turner. New Edition. Cambridge: J. Palmer.

The Morality of the Old Testament. By W. Milton, M.A. London: Rivingtons.

The Presbytery of the Scriptures. Also, Isaiah lii. 14, and liii. 2, translated and expounded. By J. Johnstone. Edinburgh: J. Thin.

- Desmaizeaux et ses Correspondants. 1. Barbeyrac. Par G. Masson. Paris : Meyrueis.
- The Modern Anthropology, as developed into a Universal Ape Ancestry : Can it be held by a Christian Divine? Letters by W. H. Gillespie to Rev. G. Gilfillan. Edinburgh : W. P. Nimmo.
- A Pan-Anglican Synod. A Sermon by F. Fulford, D.D. With Appendix. Oxford : Rivingtons.
- Free Church Service Book. Five Short Services, with Collects and Anthems from the Book of Common Prayer. London : Snow and Co.
- Absolution : Apostolical and Ministerial. A Sermon by Rev. J. C. Erck, M.A. London : Simpkin, Marshall, and Co.
- The Song of Songs. A Hebrew Pastoral Drama. Not by King Solomon. London : printed by R. Barrett and Sons.
- The Old, Old Story. London : W. Macintosh.
- The Free Church of England Magazine, and Harbinger of the Countess of Huntingdon's Connection. No. 1. London : Kent and Co.
- Simple Sermons. By W. H. Ranken, M.A. London : Rivingtons.
- The Character of the Fourth Gospel in its relation to the Three First. By J. J. Tayler, B.A. London : Williams and Norgate.
- Eusebii Cæsariensis, Præparatio Evangelica. G. Dindorf. Greek Text. Two volumes. Leipsic : Trubner.
- Schiller's Religiöse Bedeutung. Von Dr. P. Kleinert. Berlin : Wiegandt und Grieben.

## NOW READY,

*The Apocryphal Gospels and other documents relating to the History of Christ.* Translated from the originals in Greek, Latin, Syriac, etc. With Notes, Scriptural References, and Prolegomena. By B. HARRIS COWPER, Editor of *The Journal of Sacred Literature*, etc. London and Edinburgh : Williams and Norgate.

CONTENTS :—Introduction—The Gospel of James (commonly called the Protevangelium)—The Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew, or of the Infancy of Mary and of Jesus—The Gospel of the Nativity of Mary—The History of Joseph the Carpenter—The Gospel of Thomas—The Arabic Gospel of the Infancy—The Letter of Abgar to Jesus—The Letter of Jesus to Abgar—The Letter of Lentulus—Prayer of Jesus, Son of Mary—The Story of Veronica—The Gospel of Nicodemus, or Acts of Pilate—Second Part : or, Descent of Christ to the Underworld—The Latin Gospel of Nicodemus, Part I., or, Acts of Pilate—The Latin Gospel of Nicodemus, Part II., or, Descent of Christ to the Underworld—The Letter of Pilate to Tiberius—The Letters of Herod and Pilate—The Epistle of Pilate to Cæsar—The Report of Pilate the Governor—The Trial and Condemnation of Pilate—The Death of Pilate—The Story of Joseph of Arimathea—The Revenging of the Saviour—Appendix, The Syriac Gospel of the Boyhood of our Lord Jesus.

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**THE FRENCH ORATORIAN.—II. NICOLAS MALEBRANCHE.**

CONTROVERSY is evidently the element of the Oratorians. Their most celebrated men always seem to have lived in an atmosphere of dispute; but this was because they spent their days in maintaining the rights of thought against the self constituted representatives of order, tradition, and strict clerical orthodoxy. Richard Simon, about whom we discoursed some time ago, was a remarkable case in point. Nicolas Malebranche may be quoted as an example no less notorious, and the present article will be devoted to a careful survey of his life and teaching.

From the very earliest period of his existence, Malebranche<sup>a</sup> was clearly set apart by Providence as a man for whom sublunary things should have no reality whatever. Sickly, deformed, unhealthy, it was only through the utmost care that he crossed the dangerous period of childhood; and, as Fontenelle wittily remarks, "both Nature and Grace destined him to the ecclesiastical profession." Acting on the advice of his relative, M. de Lauzun, he entered the society of the Oratoire on the 21st of January, 1660, and he was ordained four years afterwards by the Bishop of Dax.

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<sup>a</sup> On Malebranche I have consulted with the greatest profit the following works:—*Histoire de la Philosophie Cartésienne*, par Francisque Bouillier. 2 vols. 8vo. Paris: Durand. *Etude sur Malebranche*, par L'Abbé Blampignon. 1 vol. 8vo. Paris: Douuiol. Victor Cousin's *Fragments de Philosophie Cartésienne*. Paris: Didier.



At that time the celebrated community, founded by De Bérulle, had reached its acme of prosperity ; and in the establishment of the Rue Saint Honoré, Nicolas Malebranche was thrown into the society of many erudite and conscientious students. Some, like Lecoinge, were busy examining the original documents which refer to the history of the Church ; others, guided by the bold Richard Simon, applied themselves to the study of philology. The young novice felt that such eminent masters could not but influence him most beneficially, and he placed himself at once under their direction. Lecoinge made him dive into Eusebius, Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret ; Simon taught him the Hebrew and the Syriac languages. Unfortunately, Malebranche felt little taste for such investigations ; he never could remember dates ; he mixed up facts with one another ; grammar was for him the most horrible of all problems ; finally, to the great scandal of his numerous friends, he positively declared that he felt ill at ease in the midst of the treasures of a library, and tradition has handed down to us some severe judgments passed by him upon erudition and *savants* in general. Malebranche, we ought to say, was rather unfair in his appreciations, and he derived more benefit from his studies than he thought proper to acknowledge, as the following letter sufficiently proves :—

“ Pour ce qui regarde le R. P. Malebranche, vous ne sauriez trouver un homme dont l’humeur vous revienne davantage ; car, sans parler de sa condition, il est très entendu dans l’Hébreu, le Syriaque, etc. Il possède M. Descartes aussi bien qu’on puisse faire, et méprise tellement les autres livres, qu’il les condamne tous au feu dès qu’ils s’éloignent de son sentiment.”<sup>b</sup>

Whilst Malebranche condemned in the strongest manner historical and philological pursuits, he was, on the other hand, very fond of mathematics, and of all the exact sciences. Natural philosophy, botany, astronomy, interested him in the highest degree ; like Bossuët and Descartes, he studied anatomy. Very clever in manual works, he made for himself several instruments for observations, and collected together the elements of a considerable herbarium. He was particularly fond of the study of insects, and some of the choicest parts of his works and

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<sup>b</sup> Quoted from Blampignon, p. 8.

correspondence refer to that favourite branch of his researches. At his death, the best works on entomology were found in his library, and Daniel shews him, as early as 1670, busily engaged in experiments on natural history, which remind us of those that have rendered Réaumur and Bonnet so illustrious. In a letter dated Orleans, April 10, 1670, directed to Father Poisson, we find the following paragraph:—

“Monsieur et Révérend Père, le R. P. de Malebranche m’a fait l’honneur de m’écrire qu’il a présentement un fourneau où il met couver des œufs, et qu’il en a déjà ouvert dans lesquels il a vu le cœur formé et battant, avec quelques artères.”

Geometry, however, and algebra were the favourite pursuits of Malebranche, always putting metaphysics quite out of the question. No philosopher, he thought, deserved that name who had not mastered those two sciences. He used to regret that during his youth he had not enjoyed the resources which increased investigations produced when he was of maturer years. He excited both Prestet and the Marquis de l’Hôpital to master the higher branches of mathematics; he even edited the *Analyse des Infiniment Petits*, composed by L’Hôpital, and drew all the diagrams with his own hand.

It seems almost extraordinary, considering Malebranche’s predilections, that he should not have composed any work himself on mathematical subjects. He merely introduced into metaphysics that rigorous process of investigation which characterizes the exact sciences, and uniformly deduced from every principle all the consequences it contained; so that, as M. Blampignon remarks, where common sense should have made him stop, his fondness for analysis led him to the most absurd lengths. Even in his metaphysical writings he shews himself as anxious for geometrical demonstrations as he is for psychological observations, and in him the mathematician always appears on the same line as the moralist.

The anecdote of Malebranche’s first introduction to philosophy, properly so called, is well known from Fontenelle’s *Eloge*. One day a bookseller placed in his hands Descartes’ *Traité de l’Homme*, which had just appeared. The work struck him so

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\* Blampignon, p. 9.

much on account both of the originality of the views stated, and the clearness with which they were expressed, that Malebranche was absolutely under a kind of charm, and more than once he saw himself obliged to lay down the volume by reason of the violent palpitations of the heart, resulting from the interest he took in his study. "L'invisible et inutile vérité," Fontenelle observes, "n'est pas encore accoutumée à trouver tant de sensibilité parmi les hommes, et les objets ordinaires de leurs passions se tiendraient heureux d'y en trouver autant."<sup>d</sup>

All of a sudden, Malebranche became a metaphysician and an adept of Cartesianism. Hebrew and Syriac, history and chronology were immediately set aside; the works of Descartes henceforth engrossed the attention of the Oratorian, and he did not consider ten years as too long a space of time to be devoted to the study of the new philosophy. In 1675, the first volume of the *Recherche de la Vérité* was published. We know, on the authority of Vigneul-Marville,<sup>e</sup> that the permission to print this work was obtained with the greatest difficulty. At that time Cartesianism was still considered a dangerous novelty, because it upset all the old traditions of scholasticism; and the French conservatives of the seventeenth century did their utmost to prevent the introduction of a system which would, in the long run, put an end to the authority not only of Aristotle, but even of the Church, and introduce unlimited freedom of thinking. Mézeray, the historian, appointed to examine the work, gave his *imprimatur* on the ground that it was a treatise of geometry. Nothing in the meanwhile indicated that the first volume of the *Recherche* should be followed by a second. Discussing the nature of the obstacles which our senses and our imagination oppose to us in our search after truth, it seemed complete in itself. Malebranche, however, had seen the necessity of enlarging his original plan; during the next year a second volume appeared, and, finally, through rectifications, corrections, and developments of every kind, the *Recherche de la Vérité* was extended from two to four duodecimos.<sup>f</sup> This celebrated work

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<sup>d</sup> *Eloge de Malebranche.*

<sup>e</sup> *Mélanges d'Histoire et de Littérature.* Paris, 1725. Vol. iii., p. 186.

<sup>f</sup> The edition of 1712 is the most complete of all. The work has been

obtained, when it first came out, the greatest success. Malebranche hoisted certainly the standard of Cartesianism, and there was no possible mistake about his metaphysical opinions; but he had not yet brought out in all their force the strange views which he afterwards entertained on optimism and divine grace; and neither the irritable Arnauld nor the despotic Bossuet could find any ground of complaint against him. A general assembly of the congregation of the Oratoire went so far as to pass a vote of thanks, in 1675, to their illustrious *confrère* for a production which reflected so much credit upon them; and the name of the author of *La Recherche de la Vérité* rose immediately into popularity.

It will be more convenient to give here, in a collected form, a list of all Malebranche's works. The *Conversations Métaphysiques et Chrésiennes* (12mo, 1677), were published at the request of the Duke de Chevreuse, who wanted to see the agreement between philosophy and religion stated in a familiar and easy way. Malebranche issued the work anonymously in the first instance, and it was ascribed, for some time, to his friend the Abbé de Catelan. A few meditations on humility and penance have been added to the edition of 1702.—*Traité de la Nature et de la Grâce* (12mo, Amsterdam, 1680). To the second edition, published at Rotterdam in 1694, Malebranche added an essay, entitled *Eclaircissement sur les Miracles de l'Ancienne Loi*. Last edition, Rotterdam, 1703. This is the work which Arnauld attacked so vehemently; it created quite a *furor*, and four editions of it were sold in a very short time. The Roman censors condemned it, in 1690, together with most of the writings which the author had composed to justify his opinions.—*Méditations Métaphysiques et Chrésiennes* (12mo, 1684). For the elegance of the style and the fervent tone of piety which pervades it, this excellent volume may be considered as equal to Saint Augustine's devotional works. It is the counterpart of the Bishop of Hippo's Confessions and Soliloquies. The first edition of 4,000 copies was soon out of print.—*Traité de Morale* (12mo, 1684). It is a subject of astonishment that this small treatise

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translated into several languages. Lenfant's Latin version (*De Inquirendâ Veritate*, libri Sex., 1685, 4to.) is well known.

should not have been reprinted; it is quite equal in merit to Malebranche's other works, and contains practical remarks which are valuable, both for their point, and also for the beautiful language in which they are couched.—*Entretiens sur la Métaphysique et la Religion* (2 vols. 12mo., 1688). Malebranche added to the third edition (1697) three new chapters on death and on eternity. M. Bouillier says of it—"cet ouvrage contient toute la doctrine de Malebranche dans son plus haut et son dernier développement."—*Traité de l'Amour de Dieu* (1697, 8vo).—*Réflexions sur la Prémotion Physique contre le P. Boursier* (1715, 12mo).—*Entretiens d'un Philosophe Chrétien avec un Philosophe Chinois sur l'Existence et la Nature de Dieu* (1708, 12mo).—*Réponse à Louis Détanville* (1684, 12mo). This work will also be found subjoined to the second edition of the *Traité de la Nature et de la Grâce* (Rotterdam, 1684). Finally, we must not forget the innumerable answers, apologies, letters, and other documents referring to Malebranche's dispute with Arnauld; it would be much too long to enumerate them here in detail; but they were collected together by the author in four volumes 12mo, Paris, 1709.

The disposition of Malebranche was naturally peaceful; no one more strongly detested controversies, and he says himself that love of quiet was one of his strongest passions; and yet his career was one of almost endless disputes. He spent his life like a warrior under arms, and if Richard Simon was compelled to defend his bold exegetical views against Protestants and Gallicans, Jesuits and Jansenists, the author of the *Recherche* found himself driven to the same universal warfare on behalf of his extraordinary ideas on providence and grace. The Oratory in France was always much in advance of its contemporaries; it represented to a great extent freedom of investigation, and, as such, it had to cope with a strong army of conservatives backed by the Roman board of censors, and the terrors of the secular authority. Régis, François Lami, Tournemine, Valois, the Trévoux journalists, were Malebranche's strongest adversaries, besides Bossuet and Arnauld, whose critiques we have already hinted at. His very love of peace made him the more irritable

when he was once roused, and the bitterness of his tone, the unchristian asperity of his language, were in exact proportion to the reluctance with which he accepted, in the first instance, the challenge from his adversaries. He felt, let us also add, that controversy was his weak point, and for this reason he always reluctantly engaged in written discussions. Thus with Leibnitz and Mairan. Read the correspondence published by M. Cousin in the *Fragments de Philosophie Cartésienne*, and you will be astonished at the weakness of Malebranche's answers. It is not the imbecility of age—not at least in the case of his discussion with Leibnitz;<sup>a</sup> it is sheer want of aptitude for dialectics. He is admirable as an analyst; his meditations, his prayers, his dissection (if we may so say) of his own thoughts are wonderful, but he knows absolutely nothing whatever about controversy. Then, in order to get out of it as handsomely as he can, he complains that his adversaries do not understand him; no, not even Bossuet and Arnauld; to which Boileau very judiciously answered, "Well, my father, *who* will understand you then?"

The beauty of the language has, no doubt, done much towards the popularity of Malebranche's works. Fontenelle, Bayle, André, Daguesseau, Arnauld, Bossuet, Diderot, and Voltaire—the philosopher's enemies as well as his friends—were unanimous in extolling his admirable style, the finish and the harmony of his sketches, his extraordinary talent in adorning even the most abstruse subjects with all the graces of the richest colouring. Bossuet and Arnauld cautioned the friends of truth against the seductions of a style so pure and so perfect that it was capable of making even error attractive.<sup>i</sup> Fontenelle has remarked that Malebranche, who denounced so strongly the power of imagination, and the dangers we run into if we allow it to obtain the mastery over us, was himself a thorough slave to that treacherous gift.<sup>j</sup>

The author of the *Recherche de la Vérité* spent nearly his whole life in Paris, at the Oratoire of the Rue Saint Honoré. Some

<sup>a</sup> Cousin, *Fragments de Philos. Cartésienne*, pp. 262—349.

<sup>i</sup> See Bossuet's *Lettre à un Disciple de Malebranche*. Vol. ii., p. 109. Lefevre's edit.

<sup>j</sup> Diderot makes the same remark. See *Encyclopédie*, art. *Malebranche*.

of his contemporaries have nicknamed him *Le Méditatif*, or *Le Taciturne Méditatif*. Far from feeling offended by this *sobriquet*, he gloried in it, and defended it against the critics who, whilst applying it to him, believed they were turning him into ridicule. "Continuez donc, Ariste, de méditer. . . . Vous verrez que le métier de méditatif devrait être celui de toutes les personnes raisonnables. . . . Ceux qu'on appelle méditatifs et visionnaires, sont ceux qui rendent à la raison les assiduités qui lui sont dues."<sup>a</sup> In order to meditate more carefully, he endeavoured to separate himself entirely from the external world, to keep away all distractions that might arise from the senses, or from the influence of natural causes. Glance at his dialogues; he does not place his interlocution on the banks of a picturesque river, in shady groves, or amidst pleasant meadows. No; the scene is a dark room, where truth alone can make itself heard, and where nothing but the mind is appealed to. "Bien donc, mon cher Ariste," says he, at the beginning of his *Entretiens Métaphysiques*, "puisque vous le voulez, il faut que je vous entretienne de mes visions métaphysiques. Mais pour cela il est nécessaire que je quitte ces lieux enchantés qui charment nos sens, et qui, par leur variété, partagent trop un esprit tel que le mien. . . . Allons nous renfermer dans votre cabinet, afin que rien ne nous empêche de consulter l'un et l'autre notre maître commun, la raison universelle."<sup>1</sup>

A man like Malebranche, however, cannot remain always buried in solitude. Reputation courted him in his retreat at the Oratoire; and, detesting notoriety as he did, he found it impossible to conceal himself from the crowd of visitors whom his great talents rendered anxious to consult him on points of philosophy or of mathematics. All the foreign *savants*, on arriving at Paris, never failed to enquire when and how they could see Father Malebranche. Some German officers made the journey for the express purpose of paying him their respects. James II. condescended to have an interview with him in his cell of the Rue St Honoré. An English officer, detained a prisoner in France, felt delighted at the prospect of being taken to the capital, because he would then have a chance of seeing

<sup>a</sup> 4th *Entretien Métaphysique*.

<sup>1</sup> 1st *Entretien Métaphysique*.

two persons whom he had always been particularly anxious to meet—Louis XIV. and Malebranche. Lord Quadrington, who died Viceroy of Jamaica, came regularly every morning to the Oratoire for the purpose of studying metaphysics thoroughly under the direction of Malebranche.\* Nor must we forget the Prince de Condé. That extraordinary man, who combined the rarest qualities with the most glaring vices, and whose last days formed so edifying a contrast to the early part of his life, was extremely fond of metaphysical discussions. He very frequently had our philosopher to stay with him at Chantilly, and on one occasion kept him there for three days. During that time he said he heard from Malebranche more about God than he had done from his confessor during ten years. All Malebranche's productions found their way to Chantilly as soon as they were published."

The names of Prestet and of Carré, which we find in the list of Malebranche's friends, are connected with circumstances highly creditable to the kindly feelings and the Christian generosity of the philosopher. Prestet was his servant; seeing in him a quiet disposition, an enquiring mind, and a decided turn for study, Malebranche gave him regular lessons, and taught him the elements of the sciences. After a short time, being thoroughly satisfied that these attentions were not thrown away, he caused Prestet to be admitted amongst the novices of the Oratoire. The young man speedily distinguished himself, and became an eminent mathematician.

Although Carré's original social position was not quite so low as that of Prestet, yet he could never have reached the standing he ultimately attained, had it not been for the assistance liberally bestowed upon him by Malebranche, to whom he acted as secretary. In the first instance he applied himself to theological studies, but discovering that he had no vocation for

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\* Berkeley had once, and only once, the pleasure of a short interview with Malebranche. The conversation, we are told, turned on the non-existence of matter. Malebranche, who had an inflammation in his lungs, and whom Berkeley found preparing a medicine in his cell, and cooking it in a small pipkin, exerted his voice so violently in the heat of the dispute, that he increased his disorder, which carried him off a few days after. *Biograph. Britan.* Vol. ii. Quoted by Dugald Stewart in his *Dissertation on the Progress of Philosophy.*

\* Blampignon, p. 14.



the Church, he gave up his pursuits, and found himself without resource. It was then that he became acquainted with the Oratorian. Seeing that he had a very great taste for science, Malebranche took the trouble of educating him, and thus gave him the means of providing for his own wants by tuition. Carré then left the Oratoire, and spending his days in giving lessons, he devoted the night to his private studies. He was soon enabled to throw up altogether the drudgery of teaching, and to concentrate his undivided attention upon the difficulties of the higher branches of mathematics.

Malebranche had been elected a member of the *Académie des Sciences*, and was brought into contact with a number of *savants* who belonged to the laity, and whom, therefore, he would not probably have had many opportunities of knowing otherwise. We may name Fontenelle first and foremost, who was "as fond of Malebranche," a biographer wittily remarks, "as he could be of any one." Saurin, celebrated as a geometri-  
cian, and one of Bossuet's converts, must not be forgotten; nor yet the Chevalier de Louville, equally notorious for his eccentricities and for his astronomical researches; Renaud d'Eliçagaray, Bernouilli, Tschirnaus, Mairan, and Leibnitz.

The Jesuits themselves, who cannot be suspected of much sympathy for the Oratorians, numbered in their ranks some staunch friends of Malebranche; the two principal were La Pillonière and André. The former, always getting into difficulties on account of his fantastic and fickle disposition, had been banished by his superiors to La Flèche; there he met Father André, who fired him with enthusiasm for Cartesianism and Malebranche. The friendship of La Pillonière for a man who was himself under the ban at the time, brought upon him fresh censures. Annoyed at these petty marks of jealousy, he left secretly the society of the Jesuits and went to Geneva, where he embraced Protestantism. From Geneva he ultimately retired to England, and there he gave himself up to teaching. La Pillonière does not seem to have been a man of very high moral worth, and in this respect he forms a very unpleasant contrast to Father André.

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\* Lequel aimait Malebranche autant qu'il était capable d'aimer.

M. Blampignon remarks that Malebranche's amiable qualities, his deep piety, and perhaps, also, his very paradoxes, contributed to win over to his doctrines the most distinguished ladies of the seventeenth century, always so naturally attracted towards everything which seemed great, noble, generous. The Marchioness de l'Hopital—praised by Leibnitz—the Duchesses D'Epemon and De Rohan, Mademoiselle de Verthamont, Madame D'Aubeterre, were his true disciples. The Princess Palatine Elizabeth—to whom Descartes dedicated one of his works—kept up a regular correspondence with Malebranche. The philosopher was wont to say that women, being less influenced by prejudice than men, knew better how to read his treatises. And yet, if we may believe *Ménage*, Madame de Lafayette could not understand the *Recherche de la Vérité*, and Madame de Longueville obtained a benefice for the brother of Dirois, who did so much to procure Malebranche's condemnation at Rome. We may suppose, without fear of being mistaken, that the generosity of Condé's sister towards the Abbé Dirois originated more from her partiality for Arnauld than from any feeling she entertained against Malebranche. Madame de Sévigné regretted that the works of the Oratorian should contain so many obscure expressions and difficult passages, but she admired the spirit which had dictated them.

The enthusiasm which Malebranche thus excited produced very soon some *Malebranchist reunions*. One of his relatives, Mademoiselle de Wailly, opened, every Saturday, her *salon* to the followers of the philosopher. On those occasions discussions were regularly held on points of metaphysics or on geometrical problems. The Oratorian himself did not often attend, but amongst the company might be seen Miron, who was one of the *collaborateurs* to the *Journal des Savants*, the Jesuit Aubert, who knew by heart almost all Malebranche's works, Saurin, Father Germon, the Abbé de Cordemoy, and sometimes the unfortunate André. Miron generally took the chair.]

Much popularity, however, cannot be obtained without a proportionate cost. If Malebranche became celebrated, his reputation involved him in serious quarrels; and we can repeat of him what we asserted about Richard Simon—his life was one of

almost unceasing disputes. The question of certitude brought him into collision with a certain Canon Foucher, who styled himself an academic philosopher. He was attacked by Bossuet on the subject of free grace; by Fénelon on that of the government of Providence; by Régis on the apparent size of the moon; by Father Boursier on the conciliation of God's power with man's will; by Lamy on the love of God; by Arnould on the claims of reason.\* We shall notice more in detail by and by the controversy which Malebranche had to carry on with the arrogant Bishop of Meaux and the irascible Jansenist; let us merely say here, that evidently during the seventeenth century French intellectual life was extremely active, and that metaphysics had not fallen under that absurd suspicion which ignorance and fanaticism attach to them at the present day.

The strongest constitution could scarcely have resisted such unremitting labour; what must it have been in the case of Malebranche, who suffered from natural infirmities, rendered still more serious by a weak digestion, repeated illnesses, and pains of every kind? His friends had long noticed that his powers were gradually giving way; as for himself, he saw death coming on without any other feeling but that of sincere thankfulness, and he welcomed the symptoms of his dissolution as those of a reunion with the God whom he had always served. On Saturday, June 17, 1715, he felt the first attack of the malady which was to carry him off. He was staying at the time in the house of one of his friends at Villeneuve-Saint-Georges, within a few miles from Paris. Transferred immediately to the Oratoire of the Rue Saint Honoré, he desired to be at once removed in the infirmary, because the room was fitted up for the celebration of divine service. His sufferings were intense until the last hours of his life, but his mind remained perfectly unclouded, and he enjoyed to the very end the full vigour of one of the most powerful intellects that have ever exercised themselves upon metaphysical and religious questions. As we read the account of his dying moments, we are reminded of the following exquisite passage in the *Entretiens sur la Mort*, so beautiful that we will not venture to spoil them by translation:—

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\* Saisset, *Précurseurs et Disciples de Descartes*; art. Malebranche.

“Ma vie, la vie d’un esprit, car mon corps n’est pas moi, c’est la lumière qui m’éclaire et me réjouit; c’est la possession, c’est la jouissance paisible de Celui qui seul peut remplir la vaste capacité de ce cœur qu’il a formé. Rien ne peut désaltérer cette soif ardente que Dieu met en nous pour la félicité, que le torrent de volupté qu’il nous a promis. Tous ces divertissements de la vie présente ne nous plaisent et ne nous occupent que parcequ’ils nous trompent; car tout ce qui nous environne n’est que de la matière inefficace, et tout ce qu’on y trouve de douceur et d’agrément vient uniquement de la source féconde de tous les plaisirs: *apud te fons est vitæ*. Heureux celui qui est convaincu de cette philosophie! Il sacrifie sans cesse en l’honneur du vrai bien les plaisirs de la vie présente, et, ferme dans l’attente des promesses confirmées par le serment du Père et scellées par le sang du Fils, il regarde le moment de la mort comme le commencement de la vie. Il sait bien, Ariste, que ce qu’il quitte n’est rien; et il croit fermement qu’avec Dieu il aura tout.”<sup>1</sup>

During the night of the 13th of October, Malebranche seemed to fall asleep; the brother who watched by his bedside composed himself to rest likewise, and on waking up, at about four o’clock in the morning, he discovered that the philosopher had breathed his last.

We must now endeavour to give to our readers a short sketch of Malebranche’s philosophy. In doing so, our aim will be to be as clear as possible, and, above all, to preserve the strictest impartiality. Whatever may be the errors into which this illustrious man has fallen, we shall ever remember that he clung close to the great truths of Christianity; and if the Abbé Faydit said of him ironically—

“Lui qui voit tout en Dieu, n’y voit pas qu’il est fou,”

on the other hand, Count de Maistre, whom no one will accuse of the slightest sympathy with unbelievers, has uttered the well-known sentence—“La France n’est pas assez fière de son Malebranche.”

Our philosopher then begins by giving us the history of the errors to which the human mind is liable, and which render it an unsafe guide. If we fall into error, it is because we make

<sup>1</sup> *Entretiens sur la Mort*. 2nd entretien.

bad use of our freedom ; such is the mainspring from which all other causes of error derive,—causes which we shall therefore designate as *occasional*. Now, there are three powers, three faculties, by which the mind takes cognizance of the objects of its ideas, whether they are spiritual or material, namely, the senses, the imagination, and the understanding ; but, besides, nature exerts, through our inclinations and our passions, an immense influence upon our ideas ; we may, therefore, distribute into five several classes all the causes of our errors, and study them separately as errors issuing from—1st, the senses ; 2nd, the imagination ; 3rd, the understanding ; 4th, the inclinations ; 5th, the passions. What a field for the moralist ! What an opportunity for ingenious remarks, quiet satire, and an accurate analysis of human character ! Those were just Malebranche's qualities, and he performed his task in the most masterly manner. He opened his first campaign against the senses, and attacked, in point of fact, the numerous adversaries of Cartesianism, enrolled under the banner of either Aristotle or Epicurus. The senses can be misinformed, if we may so say ; and even enlightened men pass erroneous opinions, because they trust to the impressions they receive from the outer world. Let us, therefore, always keep the flesh under subjection, and appeal to the mind ; in our search after truth, let us take as our guide a principle superior to the material world. Such is the advice which Malebranche gives us, and so far he follows in the footsteps of his master, Descartes. He immediately falls into the most singular exaggeration, however, for he asserts that in the eyes of reason the evidence supplied by the senses is nearly null, and that the senses cannot really prove the existence of the world around us.\* Malebranche's views were the result of a natural reaction against the modern followers of Aristotle, who ascribed to the senses almost unlimited power, and the disciples of Gassendi, for whom they were the sole criterion of truth. Speaking of the Stagyrte's celebrated *substantial forms*, he calls them " those fruitful substances which produce everything we see in nature, although they never existed anywhere except in the imagination of our philosopher."† Refuting the Epicureans, he shows that, in-

\* *Recherche de la Vérité*, chap. v. and following.    † *Ibid*, book i., chap. 16.

stead of making the *summum bonum* reside in the pleasures of the senses, they ought to consider that sensible objects cannot contain pleasure either as the cause of it, or in any other manner.<sup>4</sup>

Next to the senses comes the imagination. "Neither La Bruyère," says a critic, "nor the ingenious Nicole, nor any other moralist can be compared to Malebranche when he describes the errors of our imagination; when tracing them in the writings of Seneca and of Montaigne, he remarks on the empty declamation of the former, and the mania for anecdotes which characterizes the latter. The laboured style of Seneca, his affectation of *bel esprit*, are thoroughly turned into ridicule. As for Montaigne, he observes of him, that an anecdote proves nothing, and that there is no demonstration in a tale. No reasonable persons will be convinced by two lines of Horace, or an apophthegm of Cleomenes or of Cæsar; and yet the *Essays* of Montaigne are nothing else but a string of historical incidents, anecdotes, jokes, distichs, and apophthegms." It is certainly not too much to say, that from Malebranche's disquisition on the errors of which our imagination is the cause, a number of quotations might be taken, equal, if not superior, to the most admired pages of La Bruyère or Pascal.

If Malebranche had confined himself to point out in his terse and picturesque style the faults which we commit when we allow ourselves to be swayed by our senses and our imagination, he would have been admired as an excellent philosopher and a clear observer of human nature; but he ventured further, and, in discussing the defects of our understanding, he gave utterance to paradoxes which brought down upon him the censures of the Church and the criticism of other metaphysicians.

"Malebranche," says Voltaire, "réussit d'abord en montrant les erreurs des sens et de l'imagination; mais quand il voulut développer le grand système que tout est en Dieu, tous les lecteurs dirent que le commentaire est plus obscur que le texte. Enfin en creusant cet abîme la tête lui tourna; il eut des conversations avec le Verbe: il sut ce que le Verbe a fait dans les autres planètes: il devint tout à fait fou. Cela nous doit donner de

<sup>4</sup> *Recherche de la Vérité*, book i., chap. 16.

\* Nourrisson, *Tableau des progrès de la Pensée Humaine*. pp. 384, 385.

terribles alarmes, à nous autres chétifs qui faisons les entendus." Let us see what the celebrated theory of the vision in God amounts to.

There are, according to Malebranche, four different ways of arriving at knowledge. 1st—We may know substances by themselves. 2nd—We may know them by their ideas (images), that is to say, by something which is not those substances themselves. 3rd—We may know them by our conscience, or by a kind of internal perception. 4th—We may know them by conjecture.

Now, God is the only being we can know by Himself. In the second place, all the substances which are in this world, and of which we have some knowledge, are bodies or spirits, each class having its distinctive qualities. It is in God, and through their ideas (images) that we see the bodies with their several properties, and that is why the knowledge we have of them is very perfect. Thirdly, it is not the same with the soul; we have no idea that can give us any knowledge of it, nor can we see it in God; we know it only through our conscience, and that is the reason why we are so imperfectly acquainted with it; in fact, all we know about the soul is derived from what we feel within us.

In the fourth and last place, it is evident that we know only conjecturally the souls of other men and disembodied spirits. Let us notice, *en passant*, how much Malebranche differs from his master, Descartes, since he is driven to this conclusion, that the soul with which we are acquainted, through our conscience, is far less known to us than the body. Let us notice, moreover, the strange paralogism which our philosopher is guilty of. He teaches us that revelation alone makes us acquainted with bodily substances, forgetting that the knowledge of revelation presupposes that of bodies.

Known through revelation, however, the existence of bodies is for us the occasion of certain feelings and certain ideas. But it is God who produces in us the feelings excited by the presence of bodily substances, although those feelings are not in Him; it is enough that He should determine in us a capacity for being affected by them. It is God especially who produces in us the ideas which the presence of bodies suggests, and in which we

see those bodies; or rather those ideas form part of God's very nature, and thus it is in God that we see bodies.

We shall examine by and by the famous quarrel between Malebranche and Antoine Arnauld; but we may here note the objection raised by the Jansenist doctor against the Oratorian. Either you see in God all things collectively, or you see them separately. If collectively, how do you explain the fact that we have a distinct idea of individual substances? If separately, then each separate substance has a body, and, having a body, it has the property of extensiveness. You admit, therefore, extensiveness in God, and God for you is a material being. "Your hypothesis," said Arnauld, in conclusion, "is the most unintelligible and the most absurd of all suppositions."

It is in vain for Malebranche to distinguish what he calls intelligible extensiveness from that which he designates as material. His theory of the vision in God remains open to objections of the gravest nature. Of course, in a certain sense, we see all things in God, because any being presupposes the Being *per se*, and every finite substance presupposes the Infinite. But it by no means follows that we have only an abstract, occasional knowledge of bodily substances, instead of an immediate, concrete, intuitive one.

On the other hand, Malebranche's theory becomes unobjectionable, and is a perfect statement of the truth, when he tells us that we see in God eternal ideas—the idea of order, for instance; when he describes God as being the God of truth. "*Dic quia tu tibi lumen non es.*" For as the idea of intelligible extensiveness includes the relations of magnitude and speculative verities, so the idea of order embraces the relations of perfection and those truths which are of a practical nature.

The idea of order is the substratum of ethical science; for if human societies subsist, it is by their connection with order, by their union with justice and with God. The respect for order is, then, the origin of all true power. "Ah!" exclaims Malebranche, in his fervid style, "*Dieu seul est le lien de notre société! Qu'il en soit la fin, puisqu'il en est le principe. N'abusons pas de sa puissance. Malheur à ceux qui la font servir à des passions criminelles. Rien n'est plus sacré que la*



puissance, rien n'est plus divin. C'est une espèce de sacrilège que d'en faire des usages profanes. C'est faire servir à l'iniquité le juste vengeur des crimes."

Our philosopher here is really superior to Descartes; God is not for him a Jupiter or a Saturn, a being whose arbitrary will constitutes the essence of all law, and who merely issues his *sic volo, sic jubeo*. According to Malebranche the idea of order and of justice is the same for all men, in all times, and in all places. God himself cannot violate it, because it constitutes His very essence. It is that holy and immutable reason, that light which, according to the Apostle, lights every man who comes into the world.

With the theory of the vision in God is intimately connected that of occasional causes; for the bodies which we see in God are the occasional causes of our sentiments and our ideas. No creature, says Malebranche, can act upon another by a power inherent to itself; between the agent and the patient there is nothing but a simple correspondence through the continual interference of God, who is the only true cause; creatures are not true causes, but merely occasions *à propos* of which the sole True Cause begins to act. If, however, you persist in ascribing to these intermediate agents the name of cause, you should add the epithet *occasional*. "Dieu," says our philosopher, "*ne communique sa puissance aux créatures qu'en les établissant causes occasionnelles, pour produire certains effets, en conséquence des lois qu'il se fait, pour exécuter ses desseins d'une manière constante et uniforme, par les voies les plus simples et les plus dignes de ses autres attributs.*" Such, in a few words, is the celebrated theory of occasional causes; it already existed in an embryonic state in the writings of Descartes, and had been even explained by two Cartesians—Cordemoy and Geulincx—but Malebranche developed it thoroughly, and thus it became identified with his name.

It is not difficult to see that such a doctrine is destructive of all liberty, and that it reduces man to a kind of automaton under the all-powerful will of God. In God, and by God alone, we will and we love, just in the same manner as in Him we

feel, know, and understand. We can feel nothing unless God modifies us, we can know nothing unless God enlightens us, we can have no will unless God bends our will towards Him. In one word, everything proceeds from God, and nothing from the creature; God is all, and man nothing. Malebranche used to address a witty critique to Boursier, the champion of what is called *la prémotion physique*. He reproached him for conceiving God as a workman, who had made a statue, the head of which, fastened on a kind of hinge, moved whenever a certain string was pulled. The workman sets the string going, the statue bows its head, and the mechanical homage it thus pays to its maker satisfies him. One day, however, he forgets to pull the string, the image accordingly does not bow, and in a fit of passion he breaks it to pieces. It strikes us that exactly the same critique is applicable to Malebranche's system of occasional causes. With him, also, it is God who pulls the string. It is evident that from such a doctrine must arise very imperfect views of the nature of the universe. The whole world becomes an immense piece of complicated machinery, set into motion by God. Malebranche considers, as Descartes did, all brute animals as so many automata. Further still, in his mind every created being is an automaton; and he deprives the entire creation of its energy, thoroughly convinced that by so doing he is exalting the Creator.

Let us now see, by a natural transition, what are Malebranche's views of God and of Providence. He is as much an enemy of anthropomorphism as Spinoza himself; and he maintains that the Holy Scriptures should not be literally interpreted, as far as the nature and attributes of God are concerned. "L'Ecriture étant faite pour tout le monde," says he, "pour les simples aussi bien que pour les savants, elle est pleine d'anthropologies. Non seulement elle donne à Dieu un corps, un trône, un chariot, un équipage, les passions de joie, de tristesse, de colère, de repentir, et les autres mouvements de l'âme, mais elle lui attribue encore les manières d'agir ordinaires aux hommes, afin de parler aux simples d'une manière plus sensible."<sup>o</sup>

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<sup>o</sup> *Premier Discours sur la Nature et la Grâce.*

Divines, he adds, should never speak of God according to the popular style of those who make use of anthropologies. "Il est permis à tout le monde de dire avec l'Ecriture que Dieu s'est repenti d'avoir créé l'homme, ou qu'il s'est mis en colère contre son peuple; mais ces expressions ou de semblables ne sont pas permises aux théologiens lorsqu'ils doivent parler exactement."<sup>s</sup>

He mourns over those persons who, for want of reasoning a little, and thinking of what they are saying, entertain such unworthy ideas about God, set to themselves wrong ideas respecting the incomprehensible Being, reduce everything to the lowest level, and stripping God of His essential qualities, invest Him with those which belong to their own nature. Malebranche, following Descartes, declares that the mere idea of infinitude implies the existence of infinitude itself. As an infinite Being, God possesses every perfection. Malebranche notices especially His immensity. Not that God occupies locally all places; for then He would have the quality of extensiveness, and would become, consequently, a corporeal Being. His immensity is displayed through His influence. Being Creator, He is also Preserver of the creatures which He has made; the substances are created, indeed, and not eternal, for in this case they would be equal to infinitude; but, at the same time, they are not subject to destruction; for if they were, it would necessarily be on account of some inconsistency in the plans of the Creator. God loves Himself, and consequently loves the creatures, the work of His hands; they return love for love, and find all their happiness in the love they have for Him. Between mercenary affection, which is nothing but selfishness, and purely disinterested love, which is a mere idea that cannot be realized, there is a medium observed by Malebranche. Man, he says, loves God for God Himself; but, at the same time, He loves in God the principle and the consummation of His own happiness.

How can God be otherwise than all-amiable? He is not free by virtue of a liberty of indifference, nor does He act under the pressure of a kind of blind fatality. All His works reveal His wisdom; everything He does is for the best; and thus the world which He has created is the best possible of worlds. The laws

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<sup>s</sup> *Premier Discours sur la Nature et la Grâce.*

which govern this universe are general laws. For instance, the laws of motion may be finally reduced to two. Bodies move in a straight line, and they are susceptible of coming into collision with one another. Hence everything derives ; not, of course, the formation of organized beings which originate from a germ, but all the determinations of inorganic matter.

It is exactly the same in the spiritual world. A few general laws explain all phenomena. Hence it follows that imperfections in details cause us neither sorrow nor perplexity. We know that they are the result, not of God's will, but of the nature of things. Without complaining, without murmuring, happy, resigned, and ever trusting, we worship God, who always wills what is good, but who sometimes allows evil to have its course.

As a general *résumé* of this system, we may say that Malebranche reduces the soul to two faculties: the understanding and the will. By our understanding, we see everything in God ; by our will God acts in us. Therefore the soul is a notion, a mere idea : God is everything, and everything is in God. Thus it comes that by separating the idea of cause from that of substance, Malebranche has been led to deny substance to all creatures. Yielding to the desire of placing us entirely and absolutely under the dependence of God, he affirms that those who ascribe any species of causality to created beings are in fact guilty of impiety, and returning to the errors of heathenism. To quote the remark of a modern philosopher, such a doctrine, rigorously carried out, would change men into mere puppets, and destroy both freedom and morality. It is true that Malebranche thought he was only exalting God's almightiness, and placing us on proper level with respect to Him ; but he did not perceive that on all sides he was touching upon Spinosism ; we may say, in point of fact, that if the doctrine of Spinoza is a kind of cosmological pantheism, that of Malebranche is religious pantheism. Hegel, who was, of course, rather biassed in favour of these two thinkers, says in his *History of Philosophy* (iii., p. 371) : "Our catechism tells us that God is present everywhere ; well, develop this idea, and it leads necessarily to Spinosism ; and yet, theologians discourse against the system of absolute identity, and call out that it implies Pantheism." We doubt

whether such an explanation would have satisfied Malebranche.<sup>v</sup> Thus, by different ways, and with diametrically opposed intentions, Malebranche and Spinoza rushed towards Pantheism; the former hurried along by that imagination against which he declaims so ingeniously, the latter seduced by paralogisms, notwithstanding all his affectation of geometrical precision. The abyss was open before them both, and piety alone prevented the Oratorian from rushing into it. His sound religious views got the better of his logic.

We are now in a position to appreciate the controversies in which Malebranche was engaged, and we shall proceed to give a short account of them. The first brought him into collision with the irritable Arnauld, who, like a faithful sentinel, was keeping strict watch outside the theological camp, in order to prevent all attacks on the great cardinal truth of free grace and absolute predestination. The subject of the dispute in this instance was Malebranche's view of general Providence. He had published in 1686 his work, entitled *Petites Méditations*, and obtained by it an amount of success quite equal to that which his previous compositions had realized. Arnauld alone appeared dissatisfied. We should say that for several years there had been a gradual and ever increasing breach between the Port Royal Jansenists and the Oratorian. Malebranche, on several occasions, complained of the obscurity which reigned in the writings of *ses Messieurs* on the subject of grace; he had even gone so far as to say that the true Saint Augustine was quite different from the one whose portrait had been painted by the Bishop of Ypres. To make matters worse, the influence of Malebranche had detached from Jansenism several theologians, amongst others Father Levasseur, who, in his divinity lectures at Saint Magloire, did not scruple to say that *Jansenius had read Saint Augustine with the help of Calvin's spectacles*.

All this irritated Arnauld, and he allowed every one to know how vexed he felt by Malebranche's way of acting. There was nothing whatever in the Oratorian's behaviour that could have given offence to any but the most opinionative and domineering

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<sup>v</sup> See Matter, *Histoire de la Philosophie dans ses Rapports avec la Religion*, pp. 285-6.

of all men ; on the contrary, in speaking of Arnauld, he had always made use of the most respectful expressions, and loudly proclaimed the admiration he felt for him. Accordingly, some mutual friends endeavoured to bring about a reconciliation, and Father Levasseur imagined to propose a conference where the antagonists might explain leisurely their respective views. This plan failed on account of the obstinacy of both champions. Then the Marquis de Roucy, son of Saint Preuil, who had been beheaded in December, 1641, by order of Richelieu, and a friend of Arnauld and Malebranche, invited them to dinner. Arnauld accepted, and went to De Roucy's house, accompanied by Tréville and Quesnel. Tréville is celebrated by his intimacy with the Port Royalists and with Boileau ; his sudden conversion, at the death of the Duchess of Orleans (Henrietta of England), had attracted much notice.\* Father Malebranche arrived with his friend Levasseur. The following account of the discussion is quoted by the Abbé Blampignon from an original document.

The Count de Troisville (Tréville), who opened the meeting, was a man of wit and of learning ; he entertained, above all, the highest opinion of Saint Augustine. He began by saying that on all subjects connected with predestination and grace the illustrious Bishop of Hippo was avowedly *the* safe oracle, and that the Church, in all ages, has acknowledged his authority in this respect. Father Malebranche, who admires Saint Augustine quite as much as M. Arnauld does himself, agreed to what M. de Tréville had said ; he merely added that we should take care how we understood Saint Augustine, and that we must judge him according to the rules of sound criticism, and the analogy of the faith which the prelate ever defended against the heretics.

When they had both admitted this axiom, which is a fundamental one in matters of grace, whatever certain theologians may say to the contrary, Father Malebranche wished to state what his opinion was ; but no sooner had he uttered a word, than M. Arnauld's impetuosity prevented him from going on. His proposition was that God generally acts both in the order of

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\* Tréville, que je ramenais ce jour là de St. Cloud, et que je retins coucher avec moi pour ne pas le laisser en proie à sa douleur, en quitta le monde, et prit le parti de la dévotion, qu'il a toujours soutenue depuis.—LA FARE.

grace and in that of nature by general laws. The doctor stopped him short. In vain he tried to prove his assertion and to explain it; M. Arnauld would listen to nothing. He was always ready to oppose him with either an important question, or a passage from Saint Augustine. Above all, he had for fifty years been prejudiced in favour of Jansenius, whose opinions he had imbibed from his youth. Thus, Father Malebranche, having neither the strength nor the volubility of his opponent, was compelled to remain a mere hearer in an interview which had been brought about for the very purpose of making him explain himself.

Weary of a dispute which produced no satisfactory results, Father Malebranche said that since he was not permitted to state his views *vivâ voce*, he pledged himself to put them down in writing, and forward them to M. Arnauld, provided the latter would examine them seriously, and write his objections likewise. Every one gave his approbation to this offer, and the two adversaries went away as good friends as they could be after a tolerably warm discussion.

Fontenelle has remarked that by promising to retire from *vivâ voce* controversies, and to employ nothing but the pen in explaining their respective views, the two antagonists were really furbishing their weapons in anticipation of a perpetual system of warfare. Malebranche lost no time in fulfilling his part of the contract; taking advantage of some notes he had previously collected on the subject, developing a few of his lectures, and hurried on by the natural impatience of his character, he composed, in the short space of two months, the celebrated *Traité sur la Nature et la Grâce*, which became for him the source of so much annoyance. According to his promise, he sent off the MS. at once to Arnauld; but, in the meanwhile, the Jansenist divine had been obliged to leave France, and as he was wandering through Holland without any settled residence, he did not receive Malebranche's treatise. The Oratorian, in his turn, felt surprised at not hearing from his adversary, ascribing Arnauld's silence to pride and contempt; stimulated, too, by his friends, he resolved upon waiting no longer, and sent his work to the press. We may imagine Arnauld's irritation

when on calling one day at the Elzevirs, in Amsterdam, he saw that the *Traité sur la Nature et la Grâce* was actually ready for publication! all he could do was to obtain from the bookseller a few weeks' delay; he then wrote to Father Quesnel a letter, full of bitterness against Malebranche, and the Oratorian, thoroughly annoyed, took no step to conciliate his opponent. The obnoxious book was issued, and, as is often the case, every class of reader had some fault to find with it. Let us quote, on this subject, a characteristic extract from Father André's biography of our philosopher:—

“Point de grâce efficace par elle-même, disaient les Jansénistes; point d'indifférence active, disaient les Molinistes; point de grâce irrésistible, disaient les Calvinistes; les Thomistes voyaient avec indignation leur prémotion physique renversée. Les Molinistes devaient être assez contents de l'auteur, s'ils l'eussent bien entendu; ils ne le furent pourtant pas, parcequ'il semblait que le P. Malebranche détruisait leur grâce universelle, avec quelques autres de leurs dogmes favoris. Mais les Jansénistes ou ceux qu'on appelle ainsi étaient les plus scandalisés de tous. Ce qui les fâcha davantage fut que le traité du P. Malebranche leur enleva plusieurs bons esprits sur lesquels ils comptaient, et les empêcha d'en gagner plusieurs qui avaient de l'inclination pour leurs sentiments, parce qu'en effet, à quelque chose près, ces théologiens raisonnent plus conséquemment que ni les Thomistes ni les Molinistes.”\*

Arnauld had up to this time, and in spite of all these differences, protested his affection and his respect for the Oratorian. Writing to his friend, the Marquis de Roucy, he said: —“Je vous prie d'assurer le P. Malebranche que ce que je ne puis approuver dans son ouvrage ne diminue en aucune sorte l'affection que j'ai et que j'aurai toujours pour lui.” This expression of courtesy did not, unfortunately, represent, for a long time, Arnauld's sentiments; and if, in the plan of battle he adopted, he displayed an extraordinary amount of prudence and of dexterity, we must say that he also did not care to conceal his vindictive disposition. Instead of attacking Malebranche directly, and on the ground which the Oratorian had thought

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\* MS. quoted by M. Blampignon, pp. 58, 59.



fit to adopt, he shifted his position, and placed himself at the stand point of pure metaphysics. In 1683, the treatise *Des Vraies et des Fausses Idées* was published, and Bossuet, writing to M. de Neercastel, Bishop of Castoire, in *partibus infidelium*, could say: "Accepi a vestris, ut credo, regionibus, quam alios multos viri omni eruditione præstantis libros, tum etiam eum cui est titulus: *de veris ac falsis ideis*, quo libro gaudeo vehementissime confutatum auctorem eum qui *Tractatum de naturâ et gratiâ* Gallico idiomate me quidem maxime reclamante, publicare non cessat. Hujus ergo auctoris detectos paralogismos de ideis, aliisque rebus huic argumento conjunctis, eo magis lætor quod ea viam parent ad evertendum omni falsitate repletum libellum *de naturâ et gratiâ*."<sup>b</sup>

Malebranche's dispute with Arnauld produced on both sides an incredible number of pamphlets, *brochures*, newspaper articles, the list of which can be found in the MS. catalogue of Adry. All the literary men of the day seem to have taken a share in the contest—divines, philosophers, Protestants, and Catholics. René Fedé, Lelevel, Bayle, were on Malebranche's side; the whole community of Port Royal supported Arnauld, of course. Nicole's *bon mot* against the Oratorian's system of general administration of the universe, obtained and deserved great success. "Le P. Malebranche," said Nicole, "veut que Dieu ait prévu par une science moyenne ce que chaque ange aurait fait s'il lui eut donné le peuple Juif à gouverner, et qu'ayant reconnu par cet examen que Saint Michel serait le plus ménagé en matière de miracle, il le choisit. C'est comme s'il disait que Dieu a donné le peuple Juif à gouverner aux anges *au rabais des miracles*, et qu'ayant trouvé que Saint Michel s'en acquittait à meilleur marché, il le préféra à tous les autres." The best of it is that Malebranche acknowledged Nicole's statement to be correct, setting aside the spirit of raillery in which it was conceived.

If, however, the discussion had been allowed to go on merely as a discussion between two philosophers,—two literary men each holding fast to his own opinion,—no fault could have been found with it. The necessary point was to appeal to reason alone, and not to introduce into the debate, on either

<sup>b</sup> Bossuet's works, Paris edit., x., 678.

side, help from without. Arnauld unfortunately forgot this, and less patient than Bossuet, he endeavoured to excite against his opponent the wrath of the Holy See. In 1687 he denounced Malebranche to the Roman theologians, thus acknowledging, when he wanted to silence an old friend, the authority of a tribunal whose decrees he was the first to set at nought, as soon he was in his turn summoned before it to answer for his own quasi-Calvinistic views.

Notwithstanding the active interference of Cardinals d'Estrées and de Bouillon, Malebranche's *Traité de la Nature et de la Grâce* was placed in 1690 on the *Index expurgatorius*. "Je vous assure, Monsieur," wrote the Oratorian to one of his friends, "que la seule peine que j'aie de cette nouvelle, c'est qu'il y aura peut-être quelques personnes à qui mes livres pourraient être utiles, qui ne les liront pas, quoique la défense qu'on en a faite à Rome soit une raison pour bien des gens, même en Italie, pour les rechercher. Ce n'est pas, au reste, que j'approuve cette conduite. Si j'étais en Italie, où ces sortes de condamnations ont lieu, je ne voudrais pas lire un livre condamné par l'Inquisition, car il faut obéir à une autorité reçue; mais ce tribunal n'en ayant point en France, on y lira le traité. Cela sera même cause qu'on l'examinera avec plus de soin; et, si j'ai raison comme je le crois, la vérité s'établira plus promptement. Aimons toujours, Monsieur, cette vérité, et tâchons de la faire connaître *per infamiam et bonam famam*, de toutes nos forces."<sup>c</sup>

The *Traité sur la Nature et la Grâce* was not the only one to be censured by the Pontifical court. On the 4th of March, 1709, a sentence was also pronounced against the Latin translation of the *Recherche de la Vérité*, published at Genoa; and on the 15th of January, 1714, the first part of the *Traité de Morale*, and the *Entretiens sur la Métaphysique* were visited with decrees of condemnation.

All this was for Arnauld an occasion of triumph; but his own turn soon came to experience even more than the severity of expurgating inquisitors; and the despotism of Louis XIV. drove to the land of exile the staunchest champion of Jansenism. Powerful friends in vain endeavoured to ward off the blow;

<sup>c</sup> Blampignon, pp. 79, 80.

Arnauld had become suspected in all quarters, and if, for some, Malebranche's works were thoroughly infected by heretical opinions, it was exactly the same case with the writings of his adversary. Misfortune, persecution, exile, did not succeed in calming Arnauld's pugnacious temperament. So long as he could dispose of a quill and a sheet of paper, so long did he defend what he supposed to be the truth, and dispute, we may honestly say, *de omnibus rebus*. He died in harness. Already the literary world had grown weary of those everlasting controversies about nature and grace; the same arguments repeated on one side and met by the same refutations on the other, had lost even the charm of novelty; and the sole interest of the tournament resided in the tenacity of the two theologians. Here, too, the advantages were pretty nearly balanced, and Malebranche's obstinacy was quite equal to that of Arnauld. Neither would yield a point. The sight afforded by this discussion was frequently most painful from the want of courtesy—nay, of Christian charity, which too often prevailed. Thus when, after the death of Arnauld, Quesnel published that author's *Testament Spirituel*, together with two posthumous letters directed against the Oratorian, Malebranche completely lost his temper. It would have been for him an admirable opportunity of shewing his wisdom, his moderation, and his tact; he disregarded it, and instead of witnessing quietly the last efforts of an expiring enemy, he replied to Quesnel with the utmost bitterness.

We must now notice the other great quarrel which Malebranche had to carry on. He found in Bossuet an adversary quite as decided, quite as vigorous as Arnauld, but less inclined to give way to wrath; accordingly in this case the dispute was both calmer and more speedily settled; and the great maintainer of Gallican orthodoxy, whilst denouncing in the most uncompromising manner what he deemed to be Malebranche's errors, yet treated him throughout with the sincerest respect. Bossuet had received the treatise, *De la Nature et de la Grâce*, he had read it most carefully, and soon discovered the dangerous consequences to which the author's system would lead if logically carried out. He returned it to Malebranche with the following unmistakeable annotation: *Pulchra, nova, falsa*. Notwith-

standing this censure, Bossuet felt, as we have already said, that the Oratorian was inspired by the sincerest love of truth, and he was convinced that a few moments' conversation would enable him to obtain from Malebranche both an explanation of his views and a recantation of his errors. It was with the utmost difficulty that the Duke de Chevreuse made the obstinate philosopher consent to an interview; no satisfactory result whatever came out of it, because Malebranche absolutely refused to explain himself. "The subject of grace," he said, "is too complicated to be solved in the course of conversation. I shall state nothing except in writing, and after mature consideration." "You mean," answered Bossuet, "that you want me to write against you. I can easily satisfy you on that score." "You will do me much honour," retorted Malebranche. The antagonists then separated.

If Bossuet had indeed published his critique of Malebranche's system, the effect must have been terrible for the Oratorian, on account of the prelate's position, and of his influence over the Gallican clergy. A sentence of condemnation against the book, expulsion from the Oratory, perhaps exile, would have been the consequences, and Malebranche would have thus, like his adversary Arnauld, ended his days far from his native land. The Marquis d'Allemans, who remained to the last the Oratorian's faithful friend, managed to obtain that Bossuet would not render his opposition to Malebranche quite public. We are bound to say that in all this affair the metaphysician did very little to secure the sympathy of dispassionate observers. Bossuet once and again offered to meet him in a friendly discussion, and to settle the controversy without an appeal to the public. Malebranche obstinately refused, and on hearing that the prelate felt (as well as he might) deeply grieved, and that he no longer considered himself bound to keep any precaution, he had the impertinence to write to the Duke de Chevreuse: "*Monseigneur, j'ai un chagrin extrême de ce que je viens d'apprendre de M. de Meaux; et je ne puis m'empêcher de vous le témoigner comme à son ami.*" After such an outburst of irritation it would have been extraordinary indeed if Bossuet had felt it a matter of obligation for him to remain silent, if he

had shrunk from expressing his real sentiments on the subject selected for discussion by Malebranche. Accordingly, in his funeral oration of the Queen of France, Maria Theresa of Austria, we find the following sentence: "Que je méprise ces philosophes qui, mesurant les desseins de Dieu à leurs pensées, ne le font auteur *que d'un certain ordre général* d'où le reste se développe comme il peut; comme s'il avait à notre manière des vues générales et confuses; et comme si la souveraine Intelligence pouvait ne pas comprendre dans ses desseins les choses particulières qui seules subsistent véritablement."

It would be, we think, the highest proof of unfairness to suppose that Bossuet was obeying the feelings of private pique in all this painful controversy. If he entered the lists against Malebranche, it is because he saw, or fancied he saw, the tradition of the Church impugned, faith in danger, and man's free will at the same time attacked.

Bossuet sent a copy of the funeral oration to Malebranche, who, acting for once in conformity with his better feelings, called upon the prelate and thanked him for the honour he had done him by becoming his adversary. We must not suppose, however, that such an act of courtesy implied on the part of the Oratorian the slightest change in his views. On the contrary, he took care to say that no amount of argument could make him deviate from what he felt persuaded was the truth, and he stoutly refused to discuss the matter over again with any opponent, giving as a pretext the futility of such an argumentation, and the fear he had lest in the eagerness of controversy he might be led to overstep the limits of civility.

What was to be done then? Bossuet could not remain silent without seeming to betray the interests of the Catholic faith; he talked of assembling a board of examiners whose business it would be to test Malebranche's orthodoxy, and he would have done so at once, if the Prince de Condé, in the course of a conversation which he carried on at Versailles with the Duke de Chevreuse and the Marquis d'Allemands, had not confessed his sympathy for Malebranche, though in the most guarded and cautious way possible.<sup>d</sup> The Bishop of Meaux, to whom the

<sup>d</sup> Blampignon, 69, 70.

conversation was related, at once ratified all the praises which the Prince de Condé had given to Malebranche. The Oratorian, in his turn, hearing that so decided an antagonist as the prelate was, had expressed himself on his behalf in the most flattering terms, resolved upon seeing Bossuet. A conference took place; it was on both sides conducted with the utmost politeness, but, as had been the case before, led to no result whatever. One circumstance, let us add here, served more to reconcile Bossuet with Malebranche than anything else, namely the share which the Oratorian took in the famous disputes about Quietism. Whilst explaining Fénelon's doctrine of pure love, Dom Lamy had quoted (*Traité de la Connaissance de soi même*) some passages from the *Recherche de la Vérité*. Thoroughly astonished at finding himself adduced as supporting an opinion which he distinctly condemned, Malebranche took up his pen, and wrote a treatise expressly directed against the views of Madame Guyon. Fully satisfied by so explicit a declaration, and convinced thereby of the philosopher's sincerity, Bossuet called upon him, assured him of his esteem, and offered him his friendship. \* This fact, so honourable for both parties, is confirmed by the evidence of Cardinal de Bausset.<sup>6</sup> Thus ended the famous quarrel between Bossuet and Malebranche. Moreover, when all the disputes about Madame Guyon had come to an end, Fénelon, who had retired to his diocese of Cambray, and submitted to the decisions of the Pope, sent more than once messages to Father Malebranche, informing him of the high respect which he felt for so eminent a champion of truth, so illustrious a disciple of Descartes.

It is a pleasing circumstance to find that the most eager controversialists, when actuated by a sincere desire of promoting the glory of God, entertain against their adversaries neither ill will nor spite. Frail human nature may sometimes lead them into transient expressions of impatience; but the irritation never goes lower than the surface, and the consciousness such persons have of their own imperfections makes them guarded in their estimate of others.

To us, men of the nineteenth century, it seems almost incredible that two hundred years ago the discussions of meta-

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\* *Histoire de Bossuet*, vol. i., p. 88.

physical subtleties should have been attended with all the restrictions and difficulties we read of in contemporary memoirs. *Lettres de cachet*, exile, imprisonment at the Bastille, appear very severe punishments for doubtful opinions on the origin of our ideas, or on the relations between matter and mind. But we must remember that in those days political controversies were quite out of the question, and that, besides, clear-sighted observers saw the germs of every social innovation lying under the topics apparently the most impractical. Malebranche, at any rate, might pride himself on having disciples ready to endure persecution for his sake, and Father André, whose correspondence has been edited by M. Cousin,<sup>f</sup> became the victim of the anger of the Jesuits because he remained faithful in his admiration of the philosopher. "Je ne saurais faire," said he in a letter, "comme le Père Dutertre qui, en vertu de la sainte obéissance, s'est couché le soir Malebranchiste, et s'est levé le matin bon disciple d'Aristote." Such instances of attachment are as creditable to the person who inspires them as to the one who endeavours to set an example of constancy and moral courage.

Several English writers have applied themselves to an examination of Malebranche's writings, and we would name especially Locke. The author of the *Essay on Human Understanding* could not be expected to feel much sympathy for a philosopher who took so strongly the side of idealism. M. Hallam introduces a long and careful analysis of the *Recherche de la Vérité* with the remark that Malebranche's "style is admirable, clear, precise, elegant, sparing in metaphors, yet not wanting them in due place, warm, and sometimes eloquent, a little redundant, but never passionate or declamatory." We shall quote also the following opinion of Professor Dugald Stewart. "Few books can be mentioned, combining in so great a degree (as the *Recherche de la Vérité*), the utmost depth and abstraction of thought, with the most pleasing sallies of imagination and eloquence; and none where they who delight in the observation of intellectual character may find more ample illustrations both of the strength

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<sup>f</sup> *Fragments Philosophiques.*

<sup>g</sup> *Littérature of Europe*, iii., 324—340.

and weakness of the human understanding. It is a singular feature in the history of Malebranche, that, notwithstanding the poetical colouring which adds so much animation and grace to his style, he never could read, without disgust, a page of the finest verses; and that although imagination was manifestly the predominant ingredient in the composition of his own genius, the most elaborate passages in his works are those where he inveighs against this treacherous faculty as the prolific parent of our most fatal delusions."<sup>a</sup>

To sum up the foregoing paper, we may say that, whether we consider Malebranche as a metaphysician or merely as a member of the French *Oratoire*, we cannot deny him a place in the foremost rank.

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#### NOTE ON RICHARD SIMON.

My article on the celebrated critic has had the excellent result of suggesting to the Rev. Charles Trochon, one of the most distinguished members of the modern *Oratoire*, the following letter. It will interest, no doubt, the readers of *The Journal of Sacred Literature* :—

“MONSIEUR,—Le P. Gratry, auquel vous avez, je crois, fait l'honneur d'envoyer votre notice sur R. SIMON, a bien voulu me la communiquer. Je l'ai lue avec un grand intérêt motivé par l'auteur et le sujet qu'il traite, et je vous prie de me permettre de vous présenter quelques observations sommaires sur un point qui me touche d'assez près, parceque j'ai beaucoup étudié la vie et les œuvres de Richard Simon, mon compatriote et mon confrère, au moins pendant quelques années. J'ai préparé un travail que j'espère faire paraître dans quelques mois sur la *Critique biblique en France*; un assez grand nombre de pages est consacré aux travaux exégétiques de Simon; permettez-moi, Monsieur, de vous signaler les quelques points sur lesquels nous différons.

“Page 4. ‘A reward of 12,000 livres had been offered to the best translator.’ Ce fait ne me paraît pas établi. R. Simon, dans sa *Réponse à la défense des Sentiments de quelques Théologiens de Hollande*, pp. 77 et 78, ne parle pas des 12,000 livres, mais bien d'un fonds de 60,000 livres destinées par des Calvinistes Genevois à une traduction nouvelle de la Bible; mais ce fonds ne vint jamais à Paris, et Simon fit son projet de version, que du reste il a réimprimé dans son *Histoire Critique du Nouveau Testament*, seulement par amitié pour Justel avec qui il

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<sup>a</sup> *Dissertation on the Progress of Philosophy*.—The reader is also referred to M. Lewes's *Biograph. History of Philosophy*, and to Blakey's *History of the Philosophy of the Mind*.



conserva toujours des relations. On ne lui offrit jamais d'argent, et il s'est toujours défendu d'avoir songé à autre chose qu'à empêcher les Calvinistes de faire trop d'erreurs dans leur nouvelle version.

"Page 6. M. Floquet, avec lequel j'ai l'honneur d'avoir quelques relations, n'a pas exposé avec impartialité l'affaire de la suppression de l'*Hist. Critique*. On voit qu'il n'a pas lu l'ouvrage de l'Oratorien, mais seulement les critiques qu'a faites Bossuet de ce fameux ouvrage. Il ne met pas assez en lumière la part qu'eurent les Jansénistes depuis longtemps irrités contre Simon, à l'affaire qui nous occupe. Simon a donné dans une de ses lettres (éd. de 1730, t. iii. 17, et iv. 52) l'histoire de ses démêlés avec Port-Royal et de la suppression de son livre. Son récit porte tous les caractères de la véracité, et jusqu'à présent on ne l'a pas assez consulté lui-même sur un point si important. Quant à Pirot, c'était un triste caractère et qui poussa Bossuet plus loin peut-être que le grand évêque ne fut allé. Je ne puis pas, Monsieur, entrer dans le fond de la question et exposer le système de Simon. Je le tente dans le travail que j'ai entrepris et que j'aurai l'honneur de vous envoyer dès qu'il aura paru. Je suis persuadé, et c'est l'opinion commune aujourd'hui en Allemagne et en France, que Bossuet n'a pas compris la pensée de Simon, qu'il l'a attaqué trop violemment, et qu'il a voulu trancher des questions aujourd'hui encore réservées.—Le grand défaut de Simon fut le ton acerbe qu'il n'a jamais pu quitter; mais je ne puis pas admettre avec vous qu'il soit le père de la critique destructive si audacieuse aujourd'hui en France, en Allemagne et en Angleterre.—J'aurais désiré vous voir citer la Notice de l'Abbé Cochet sur Simon: le savant Dieppois y signale la vraie cause de la destruction des mss. de Simon, qui ne fut pas faite par peur des Jésuites avec lesquels il fut toujours très lié; mais par une de ces idées folles de malade qui sont si communes et si inexplicables dans l'histoire même des plus grands hommes. Je me suis assuré, de plus, près de M. Floquet et de M. Lebrument, libraire très instruit de Rouen qu'on ne possède rien ou presque rien des *Lettres ou MSS. de Simon à la Bibliothèque de Rouen*. On a aussi publié à Dieppe en 1861, une notice autographe de R. Simon dans laquelle il donne des détails curieux sur les études et ses premiers travaux."

GUSTAVE MASSON.

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**ETERNAL PUNISHMENT.**

I WOULD ask to be allowed to say a few words in reply to Mr. Robertson's paper on "Eternal Punishment," in the last number of *The Journal of Sacred Literature*. I must begin by denying the truth of the assertion, that his view is that imposed on her members by the Established Church. The fact that nothing is said on the subject in those Articles which "contain the true doctrine of the Church of England, agreeable to God's word," ought to suffice to prove the contrary. The fact, that the old Article 42, which did refer to the subject, was expunged, ought to make any one at least pause before maintaining that the Church of England requires from her members an uniform opinion on the subject. The decision of the Privy Council, in Mr. Wilson's case, simply gave authority to the freedom of opinion which had long been claimed and exercised. In the columns of *The Journal of Sacred Literature*, a discussion on the subject will hardly do harm, and it is as well that it should be seen that something, at any rate, may be said in answer to such arguments as Mr. Robertson advances. It would, I think, have been better if he had confined himself to arguments, and abstained from speaking of his views as "the general belief of the Church." I am not about to contend against the view which looks forward to the final destruction of those hardened in wickedness, for which arguments may certainly be drawn from Scripture; but I do think, as Mr. Robertson puts the opinion, against which he combats, that "Eternal torment is so dreadful a thing to think of, that it is not likely that God would condemn any of his creatures to such a fate." But I would not appeal only to that tender mercy of God, which is over all his works; I would ask whether God's justice and holiness may not also be pleaded in favour of the final recovery of those who appear to us to be lost: His justice, because every creature has received from Him its nature, and owes to Him the motives, or the want of motives, by which that nature is influenced for good: His holiness, because holiness with God is love unselfish—ever desirous to make others partakers of its own blessedness.

There was hardly occasion for Mr. Robertson saying that the

wish that all may be saved is father to the thought—no doubt it is; nor, again, for parading the common opinion as “our Church’s orthodox view.” Popular opinion may be “orthodox,” and yet not sound. The Jews, I have no doubt, considered themselves orthodox in standing up for tradition against our Saviour; we do not believe them to have been in the right.

But now let us follow Mr. Robertson through his reasons, and, for brevity’s sake, I will not repeat what he says, but refer to the paragraphs of his paper in order.

I. (a). I quite agree with Mr. Robertson when he says, that we must be guided by “what God has declared” He will do. The question is—what has God declared? With regard to Matthew xxv., I must refer Mr. Robertson, that I may not take up too much space, to what I said in my “Reasons for not signing the Oxford Declaration.” In reviewing that pamphlet, it was said in *The Journal of Sacred Literature* (July, 1864),—“The observations upon the second point are worthy of close attention, and, if erroneous, we should like to see them refuted.” Till I know what Mr. Robertson has to say in answer to what I have there urged, I do not see any necessity for saying more about Matthew xxv. (b). I demur to Mr. Robertson’s assumption that it “would surely have been declared distinctly if God intended any change beyond the punishment threatened.” When God told Adam that in the day he ate he should surely die, He said nothing as to death being eventually destroyed, and good being brought out of evil. So now God, for wise purposes of His own, conceals the future, but He has left grounds for hope, both in our reason and in His word. St. Paul argues (Rom. v. 12—21), that if in Adam all died, *much more* in Christ will all be made alive. Compare Romans xi., especially verses 26 and 32. (c). It is simply assertion to say, that eternal happiness and eternal misery rest on the same ground. The former rests on God’s unchangeableness, and on His calling Himself “the God of all flesh” (Jer. xxxii. 27). What God means when He calls Himself “the God of” any one, Christ has shewn us (Luke xx. 37). Eternal misery, on the other hand, rests on a few passages of Scripture, the meaning of which there is ground for thinking has been mistaken. (d). In answer to what Mr. Robertson says here, I would

simply remark that God sometimes keeps back conditions which will allow of His word being fulfilled otherwise than man would have expected. He declared to Jonah that in forty days Nineveh should be overthrown. He said nothing as to any change being effected in His purpose by their repentance. They might have concluded there was no hope. But, further, I do not believe that God ever really "lets off" sinners. They receive adequate punishment in some way. Only, in many cases, through the operation of God's grace, the punishment is swallowed up, as it were, being changed into chastisement, and so becoming a blessing. Where has God said that He will make any of His creatures eternally miserable by leaving them in their sins, and taking no further steps to lead them up to righteousness? (e). Mr. Robertson here begs the whole question. It is, of course, easy to *say*, that any view which he disapproves "not only has no certain warrant to support it, but also is in truth opposed to all the assertions or hints which the word of God contains." I want proof of this opposition.

II. I am quite prepared to take my stand on the Atonement, and to maintain, with Mr. Robertson, that Christ's blood could not have been shed in vain. But then I draw a different conclusion from that which he does. I read in John iii. 16, 17, that the *world* was that which Christ came to save. Did God send Christ, knowing well that He would fail in that for which He was sent? Does God's purpose ever fail? Will sin eventually prove stronger than love? Will the creature be able effectually to resist the Creator? That sin, while it remains, excludes from happiness, entails certain misery, experience must convince all of us. But surely we may hope that Christ's work will not be for ever left unfinished—that "He will see of the travail of His soul," in the fullest sense; and that the world as well as the Church, will at last be drawn to Him who declared that He would draw all (John xii. 32). Mr. Robertson asks—"If there were to be, *at any rate*, an ultimate deliverance for all souls from *any* punishment, where was the need of so astonishing an Atonement as that worked out?" As to the absolute need of such an Atonement as has been provided, I do not presume to say anything further than that it commends itself as exactly suited to man's case. It is hardly fair, however,

for Mr. Robertson to speak of deliverance from *any* punishment. It is quite possible to believe, as I do, that all souls will receive full punishment for sin, and yet to see ground for hoping that God will ultimately bring all from sin to righteousness, just as He does the few here on earth.

III. Speaking of "lost souls," Mr. Robertson says—"Having died in sin and inclined to sin, they will always continue in a state of sin." Is it not true of "lost souls," before God's grace operates on them, even in this world, that, as far as man can see, they are beyond recovery? The words—"Can the Ethiopian change his skin, or the leopard his spots?" apply to all men. No man can redeem himself or his brother. The Spirit can alone change any heart. But Christ came to save "the lost." The Spirit breatheth where and when He listeth. May not God choose His own time for exercising mercy? I have yet to learn that death can change the Father's love, or the Spirit's willingness to make that love effective. He who can make dry bones live here, can make wasted souls live hereafter. Christ came to make an end of sins. (δ). Mr. Robertson speaks of punishment hereafter as "simply punitive, not remediative." Where does Scripture say so? How does Mr. Robertson explain the fact, that in Matthew xxv., *κόλασις*, not *τιμωρία*, is used? I may remark here that the fact of *κόλασις*, which always means punishment for the benefit of the offender, being used, makes against the view of those who believe in the final destruction of the wicked. It also convinces me that *αἰώνιος* in neither clause is to be taken in the sense of "everlasting." The gift of everlasting life, it seems to me, is intended for all; the special reward of the elect is limited to the time during which Christ exercises His mediatorial kingship. (See Rev. xx. 4—6.) (c). I quite agree with Mr. Robertson that a sinful state disqualifies the sinner for God's presence and glory. Man's nature, inherited from Adam, is incapable of improvement; those in the flesh cannot serve God; but a new nature is given to some here; to all, I think, there is reason to hope eventually. Just as in the case of some now, God circumcises the heart and writes on it His law, so, we may trust, He will do with all in His own good time. Mr. Robertson indeed asserts that, "no Holy Spirit will visit sinners hereafter." I prefer the assurance of Scripture,

that "God will pour His Spirit upon all flesh." I believe that that promise only began to be fulfilled on the day of Pentecost. God's way is ever perfect. If He appear to us to fail in that to which He sets His hand, it is because we see but part of His ways. How do we account for the fact that few only in this life flee from sin, the rest cleave to it? There is an election according to grace. But this election, so far from destroying, encourages the hope that what God does for some He will, in good time, do for all (1 Tim. ii. 6). (d). It is, no doubt, true that heaven would be no heaven to the unholy. Only Mr. Robertson ought to shew that God will not impart His holiness to all in the end, and so make them meet for the inheritance of the saints. It is the property of real goodness to desire to make others good. Spiritual selfishness cannot exist in God. The love which could die for sinners will hardly then rest till sinners are saved.

IV. I know nothing certain about the destiny of "fallen angels." I, however, see some grounds in Scripture for indulging a hope even as regards them, seeing that "all things" are to be gathered up in Christ (Eph. i. 10); and that through the Church is to be known (Eph. iii. 10 compared with vi. 12, see the original) to principalities and powers in heavenly places the manifold wisdom of God. (See also Rev. v. 13.)

V. Mr. Robertson argues from what we see in human government, which is confessedly defective, as to what is the way in which God is likely to act. Our reformatories fail; therefore he seems to conclude God cannot succeed. I do not like to entertain such ideas as to the Almighty. I believe that He can do what His creatures cannot. I believe that He will do what man, often through indolence, leaves undone. I read of the earthly shepherd (Luke xv.), that he leaves the ninety-nine sheep to find the one that is lost, and seeks *till* he finds. Will the Heavenly Shepherd do less? The elder brother in the parable would have left the prodigal to his rags and misery. Not so the father. If the earthly father so welcomes the prodigal, how much more the Heavenly Father, who can draw as well as receive, use sin to bring to righteousness, as well as pardon it on repentance? "In their affliction," says God (Hos. v. 15), "they will seek me early."

VI. (a). Here, again, Mr. Robertson argues from the im-

perfection of human government as to what God will ultimately do. We deal out but a rough, imperfect kind of justice. But even we are beginning to feel that it is not just to visit all crimes with equal severity. It is even doubted now whether capital punishment be right in any case. (*b*). We must not only take into account the dignity of the person offended, but the character of the offender. We do not punish children as we do men, or a fly as we do a human being.

VII. To what Mr. Robertson says here I reply, that nothing but a love of holiness and hatred of sin, implanted by God Himself, can enable men to keep God's law. The fear of hell does not. It makes men hypocrites; that is all. When sick they repent; when well again, they return to their evil ways. "There is *mercy* with thee, it is written, *therefore* shalt thou be feared." (Psalm cxxx. 4.)

In conclusion, I cannot believe in any enjoying heaven by themselves while others are tortured in hell. The angels leave heaven to minister to sinners; they rejoice over every recovered penitent. We are to be *as* the angels. Let us hope that good men will have then more enlarged views. God's purpose at present seems to be to take out of the world a first-fruits, leaving the harvest to be reaped hereafter. By leaving the many to their own ways, He shews that "man cannot turn and prepare himself, by his own natural strength and good works, to faith" (Article X.); but that He does make the few turn, shews that He can make all. It is He that maketh one to differ from another. He teaches men in different ways. Some, by suffering, He brings even now nearer to Himself. Others, though not so near, are yet not excluded from His providence. Christ will shew Himself the second Adam, the Head of all men, as He is now showing Himself the mystical Abraham, the Head of the elect. May not the fact that Christianity makes so little progress on the earth be attributable to narrow views as to God's purpose and our consequent duty? If Christians had Christ's love, would the earth continue to be such a barren wilderness?

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**THE UNIVERSITIES.****BY REV. C. A. ROW, M.A.**

**THE** intimate union which exists between these institutions and the theological life of this country, entitles us to bring their condition under the notice of our readers. The great scientific and social movements of our age have originated elsewhere ; but it is an undoubted fact that the universities have been closely connected with its religious movements. They cannot be said to have been the creators of a great theology like those of Germany, but it is not easy to over-rate the practical influence which they have exerted, for good or for evil, on the religious life of England.

A further development of our university system seems to be imminent. One branch of the legislature has decided that it is required by the wants of the nation. It is of the highest importance that it should be directed to the promotion of the best interests of religion, philosophy, and science.

Sixteen years have now elapsed since a small band of sincere and earnest men determined fearlessly to deal with the question of university reform. The necessity for public interference was not equal in the two universities. Both required the hand of the renovator, but Oxford was at that time a prey to abuses from which the more fortunate circumstances of Cambridge had rendered her exempt. Their efforts were consequently chiefly directed to the reform of the University of Oxford. In consequence of the determined exertions which were made both in and out of Parliament, Lord J. Russell, the then premier, announced his intention to advise the issuing of two commissions of inquiry into the state of the universities. In due time the commissions made their reports, fully indorsing the existence of the alleged grievances, and embodying the opinions of the reformers as to the means to be adopted for their reformation. The result was that, in 1854, an Act of Parliament was passed appointing a new commission, invested with powers of legislation, subject to certain great principles laid down in the Act. This commission



gave legal authority to many, but not all, of the recommendations of the commissioners of inquiry.

It will be not out of place now that legislation is again impending, and cannot be long delayed, to take stock of the changes which have taken place between the year 1851 and the present time, and to note the improvements which have been effected in their constitution.

A pamphlet, commonly called "The Pink Pamphlet," from the colour of its envelope, but entitled, "A Letter to the Right Hon. Lord J. Russell, M.P., etc., etc., on the Constitutional Defects of the University of Oxford," which was written by one of their number, embodied the views of the most active reformers, and may be said to have been their manifesto. From it we will enumerate the leading abuses for which they sought a remedy, and then point out the progress which has been made during the last twelve years in the work of reformation.

One great advantage which has been obtained is the growth of a great body of reformers within the universities. At the first commencement of the movement the party was extremely weak. Liberal opinions were at an utter discount in the university. There open avowal was almost in danger of ostracizing a man in a common room. The local influences of the place were at work to stifle them. The number of men of standing in Oxford who dared to stand up for the principle of university reform, we had almost said, was infinitely small. Since that period their increase has been prodigious. When once the necessity of reformation could be no longer controverted, reformers seemed to issue out of the earth. Oxford, hitherto the land of immovability, became the land of movement. Since that period the party has grown stronger and stronger, and although it does not yet contain a majority of the resident members of the university, it embraces the larger portion of its talent and its life.

The following is a statement of the chief abuses in the university, as contained in the "Pink Pamphlet," and we think that many of the opponents of reform must now look back with wonder at their opposition. Prior to the legislation of 1854 there were not more than the fellowships of two colleges, Oriel and Balliol, open to unrestricted competition, and not

the whole even of these. The others were confined to natives of particular dioceses, counties, and, as at Brasenose, to persons born on particular manors. A very large number were the exclusive possession of certain schools, and not a few were limited to those of kin to the founder. But this was not the worst feature of the case. Nearly half of the fellows were elected from the scholars of their respective foundations; and as these were elected usually before the age of nineteen, and unless they acquitted themselves in a manner actually discredibly, were certain of their fellowships—a great portion of the inducement to study was taken away. In this state of things it is no wonder that a full moiety of the fellows of colleges either took no honours, or those of the lowest kind.

Nor when examinations were held was the superior candidate certain of success. Various influences, besides those of superior acquirements, exerted powerful influence, which we shall not particularize. We have since heard persons admit, who should know the secrets of common rooms, that very few elections were decided exclusively on the literary merits of the candidates.

Miserable was the condition of the professorships. A few had ample endowments, but the salaries of the majority were utterly inadequate to induce men of high attainments to occupy them, and the attendance at their lectures almost *nil*. Some of the professors gave no lectures; others gave them as matters of form, which were commonly designated by the name of "wall lectures." In those days the professor of modern history had an average attendance of eight pupils, of chemistry five and a half, of botany six, Arabic none; the professorship of law was a mere form; in Greek there was neither lecturer nor pupil, and Dr. Buckland, with his European celebrity, commanded a class of ten. The only professors who had an attendance were one or two of those connected with divinity.

But if the performances of these professors were small, their stipends were still smaller. Many did not exceed £100 per annum, and some were far less. The income of an esquire bedel, whose chief duty was that of carrying a mace before the Vice-Chancellor, would have exceeded five or six united.

No less unsatisfactory was the state of the college statutes.

The members of a college were bound to obey them under the sanction of a solemn oath, while in some cases obedience to them was become impracticable, and in most cases inconvenient. Practically they were a dead letter, except where they suited either the interests or the prejudices of the governing body. One of their most objectionable clauses was, that they made each fellow solemnly promise never to consent to any change in the statutes, which was always pleaded as a bar against inconvenient improvements. Each fellow was also bound to his college by an oath of secrecy.

Dissenters were utterly excluded both from study and from a degree. A few years previously every youth who had attained the age of fifteen was called on to make a declaration of assent and consent to the Thirty-nine Articles, and to confess his belief of all the abstruse points of theology defined therein, notwithstanding that his years rendered it impossible for him to form any judgment on such abstruse subjects. This, however, had been exchanged for a declaration. Subscription was enforced on every candidate for a degree.

The talent of the university was excluded from all power of initiating legislation by the predominance of a narrow oligarchy, and in the house of convocation its influence was swallowed up by a turbulent democracy of mediocracy.

The number of scholarships was very limited, and their utility destroyed by restrictions similar to those to which the fellowships were subjected.

Most of these abuses have been corrected by the legislation of 1854, and that which has been consequent on it.

The fellowships have been thrown open for competition to all the members of the university. There are a few still subject to restrictions; but the restrictions are now as rare as an open fellowship was under the old system. Many fellowships have been suppressed, and their proceeds applied to the foundation of scholarships for the encouragement of youthful talent. If a well-taught youth of talent now comes to Oxford, he is almost sure of being able to obtain assistance to aid him in his university course by winning an open scholarship. So completely altered in this point of view is the state of things, that it is more

difficult to find the requisite amount of well-taught talent to fill the scholarships, than of scholarships to be filled by it. Nearly all the professorships have had their incomes largely augmented, and others have been founded. The funds for the purpose have been supplied either from the funds of suspended fellowships, or from the proceeds of the university chest.

The old statutes have been repealed, and a new body of statutes have been enacted for each college more suited to the requirements of modern times.

A new machinery for the initiation of legislation has been instituted. To this the resident members of the university, if they so please, can elect their own aristocracy. By this change the influence of the old obstructive body has been considerably diminished.

The former oaths of obedience to college statutes have been utterly abolished. Dissenters have been permitted to participate in the studies of the university. They can attain the degree of B.A., but still remain excluded from the higher degrees which confer in the universities the powers of government. They are, in like manner, excluded from the college fellowships.

These changes have introduced a more healthful spirit into university legislation. A large extension has taken place in the curriculum of study. Professors' lectures are more extensively attended. A large body of men have sprung into existence who have emancipated themselves from the old narrowness of view, and who heartily desire to make the universities the instruments of the education of the nation on the widest principles.

One of the most satisfactory results which have flowed from the liberation of the university from its former thralldom, is the effort which she has made for the improvement of middle-class education, by the institution of a set of local examinations. Thirty years ago such a line of action would have been deemed visionary. No portion of the education of this country stood more in need of reformation than that of the middle classes. A large number of those schools were inferior, as places of education, to the national schools. National schoolmasters had to produce a certificate of competence, but a man without the smallest qualifications, who had failed in every other department

of life, frequently succeeded in forming a large middle-class school. The education given was, as might be naturally supposed, frequently the worst possible. This calling was the refuge of all kinds of charlatans and puffers; and the classes on whom these impositions were practised had no means of detecting them until the mischief had been done. The local examinations are a movement in the right direction, and we heartily wish that means could be adopted to give it tenfold additional usefulness.

Great and satisfactory as are these changes, it is necessary that the spirit of reform should not rest content with its laurels, but that its motto should still be onwards. Our universities still admit of considerable improvements; their revenues can be further utilized; they want to be made more thoroughly national, and their influence extended over a wider centre.

While we are chiefly concerned with them as places for the study of theology, we would keep steadily in mind the importance of all their other branches of study. Such is the correlation which exists between the different branches of knowledge, that their successful prosecution has the most intimate bearing on that of theology itself. Theology is no longer a separate department. It can only be successfully studied in the light of science.

One of the chief defects of our present university system is, that it makes no proper provision for retaining in residence a sufficient body of duly qualified teachers and learned men. A university ought to have two objects in view—to have an efficient body of teachers, and a body of learned men whose proper function should be the production of learned works. The qualifications of the teacher and the writer are sometimes united in the same person; but this is far from being invariably the case. A very learned man is not unfrequently devoid of the gift of teaching. Successful study is greatly stimulated by the atmosphere which the presence of other learned men creates. All our powers are increased when a spirit of enthusiasm is brought to bear on one another. Such an enthusiasm is generated by the mutual action and reaction of mind,

Our present university system is deficient in not adequately supplying either of these wants.

The teaching power is inadequate. Recent changes have improved it; but still there is much to be accomplished. The colleges ought to supply the adequate teaching power. A learned body should be generated by the professorial system.

Many of the colleges still supply very inadequate tuition. Of this men devoted to the higher class of studies universally complain. The need of the private tutor is largely felt at Oxford, but much more at Cambridge.

We maintain that the endowments of the colleges are such that they ought to be able to supply a teaching power adequate to all their wants. From those revenues all necessary tuition should be supplied to the students.

Why then do they fail to do so? The answer is obvious. The income of college tutors is not sufficient to attract the highest orders of minds to the work of tuition as a permanent calling. Enforced celibacy greatly increases the difficulty. As matter of fact, all the head masterships of our larger schools, and many of the under masterships, provide men with larger incomes than those of our college tutors. The income of the tutor is made up of two sources—that of his fellowship, and that immediately derived from his tutorship. We have no certain data to estimate the average income of a tutor at either of our universities, but we are of opinion that if we were to place it at £250 per annum, independent of his fellowship, we should place it above the mark.

The masterships of most of our schools afford a man of talent the means of largely exceeding this income. It may be said, that we must add to the tutor's income, as such, that derived from his fellowship. But if the master of a school does not marry, he can retain his mastership with his fellowship. If the tutor or the master marry, the fellowship is alike forfeited. But if the master marry, his marriage will enable him to repair the loss of the fellowship by taking boarders. The tutor is destitute of this counterbalancing advantage. But as the bulk of men do not intend remaining single, it is evident that the enforced celibacy of the fellow will induce him to leave the work of tuition whenever he finds suitable opportunity.

It is impossible, therefore, with the existing incomes as the

rewards of successful tuition, and hampered as they are by the law of celibacy, that colleges can compete with schools and public departments in commanding the services of the highest form of talent.

But a remedy is at hand. Repeal the law of celibacy as far as tutors are concerned. Provide sufficient funds out of the college revenues to induce the most successful tutors to continue in the work of tuition.

This result might easily be realized by the suppression of a sufficient number of fellowships, and devoting their income to that purpose. But unless statements which have been publicly made on the highest authority are incorrect, the end in view can be easily accomplished without this sacrifice. It has been stated that within a very few years the aggregate revenues of the Oxford colleges alone will be improved, by a better system of management, to the extent of £100,000 per annum. Let the duty of providing an adequate remuneration to secure the possession of effective tuition be made a first charge on this improved income.

The same observations will apply to the professorships. One of the functions of a university is to bring a number of men eminent in the higher regions of intellectual thought into mutual communion. Without a bond of union their force becomes weakened by being scattered over the wide regions of general society. Such a body ought to supply the university with its highest teaching, and, by its writings, to give a tone to the intellectual character of the nation.

Although several of the professorships are endowed to the point which ought to command the services of the highest class of intellect, and most of them have been greatly increased compared with the despicable remuneration provided for them in former years, yet still many are inadequately paid if men of the highest class are to fill them, and devote their energies to the work. The same sources of income to which we have alluded ought to be applied for placing the incomes of the professors on a basis entirely satisfactory. As the efficiency of its professors is of the highest importance to a university, the supply of the funds necessary to effect this

ought to be made the first charge on any available source of income.

We have already observed that a large number of scholarships have been created and thrown open to unrestricted competition. Under the old system several of them were restricted to persons of limited means, although this restriction was very frequently disregarded in practice. Complaints have consequently been made that the opening of all the scholarships to general competition has deprived the poor man of his rights in favour of the rich. We admit that there is some force in the objection, though not without considerable qualification.

As a general principle, if a scholarship be regarded as an honour and a prize for intellectual attainments, it is absurd to make poverty one of the qualifications for attaining it. It is no less certain that a university ought to possess a considerable number of scholarships, the only qualification for the attainment of which should be literally pre-eminence.

In the competition for such scholarships it is evident that, other points being equal, the rich man is sure to distance the poor man. The former can afford to pay for the instruction which the latter cannot. The examination for such scholarships are likely to be conducted so as to fall in with the system of the great schools. In these the boys get the advantage of the instruction of the highest class of masters. None but those who are comparatively rich can afford to pay for this species of education. They have besides the aid of all the means which private tuition can put into their hands. In the competition, therefore, for such scholarships, there can be no doubt that the richer is at a great advantage compared with the poorer man.

But, as a matter of policy, it would be most desirable to provide a number of prizes which would give the superior intellects of a lower class in society the benefits of a university education. A mixture of classes is one which is indispensable for good working of the universities. It is therefore most desirable that means should be provided of bringing the superior minds of our lower middle class under the influence of our universities. At present they can compete for the prizes necessary to maintain them only at a disadvantage.



We see our way, however, to a remedy through means of the middle-class examinations; and not only so, but also to their greatly increased efficiency. We have frequently heard the objection urged against these examinations, *Cui bono?* What advantage does the getting passes or honours bring to the candidate?

We think that the Government, and those who require the services of well-educated men, ought to take this question into their serious consideration, and to afford the means of returning a satisfactory answer. Until they do so, these examinations will not do one twentieth portion of the good which they might otherwise effect. But the universities must contribute their quota to the solution by providing prizes for the candidates as well as by examining them.

Let then a number of scholarships be founded in our colleges for which it shall be a necessary qualification that the candidate should have taken either first or second class honours in the middle-class examinations. To effect this we would add considerably to the present number of scholarships by the same means by which they have been increased already. Let them be made of such value as will enable a poor man to live at the university. Then divide the whole body of scholarships into two classes. Let one moiety be open to unrestricted competition, and the other be confined as we have suggested. This would effect at the same time two most desirable ends. It would greatly stimulate the middle-class examinations, and also draw under the influences of the universities the higher forms of mind in that strata of society which, under the present system, is entirely deprived of such an advantage. The old system merely rewarded poverty as such, even when it was honestly carried out. We do not see the smallest advantage in bringing forward mediocracy because it is united with poverty. But the case is different with the higher class of minds, and the plan which we propose will effectually draw them out from the mass.

It was the evident intention of the new legislation not only to throw the fellowships open to general competition, but to provide that the best qualified candidate should be elected. The new system unquestionably works as a great improvement on

the old. Still the intention of the legislature is not unfrequently evaded by the defective provision made in the new statutes of the colleges for realizing that intention.

The statutes provide that the intellectual qualifications of the candidates shall be tested by examiners duly appointed, and that these examiners shall report the results of the examination of the candidates by placing them in their order of merit. But they have left the election in the hands of the fellows, and have not made it compulsory on the fellows to elect the most distinguished candidate. The commissioners doubtless considered that both the moral and companionable character of the candidate were entitled to consideration. The candidate with the highest intellectual qualifications might be a very immoral man, or a complete bore in a common room. Still, it is evident, that if varied considerations of this kind are allowed to operate on the minds of a considerable number of electors, elections will become open to the influence of favouritism, and of all kinds of abuses. The old statutes were often explicit enough; but they left a great deal to the consciences of the electors; and to this most of the abuses owed their origin. We understand that complaints of unfairness are not unknown at Oxford. Two or three cases of this have actually appeared before the public in the appeals made to the Visitor of All Souls' College against the disingenuous attempts of the majority of that society to evade the obvious meaning and intention of the new statutes.

For this evil there is an obvious remedy; and no time ought to be lost in its application. If exclusion is to take place on moral or social grounds, let it take place before the examination. A scrutiny into the character of candidates should be first entered into. If they are found objectionable (and weighty reasons ought to be adduced for their being esteemed so), let them be at once excluded from being allowed to compete in the examination. After such a scrutiny, the success of the contest ought to depend exclusively on the results of the examination. Under the present system a considerable majority of the fellows of colleges are not resident. An end ought to be put at once to the possibility of a fellow who has taken no part in an examination coming up and voting at an election.

But we must consider the subject of university reform in its more direct bearing on theology.

The colleges profess to provide instruction in theology, but in addition to that provided by them, there are about six professors in either university connected with this department. Under recent legislation they are in the enjoyment of suitable, several of large, stipends. So far there is no reason to complain. Although the whole are not so, it is impossible to deny that several of the professors are men of mark. As the universities are the great seminaries of the Church, and as theological knowledge is an indispensable qualification for an efficient Christian minister, the uninitiated will naturally conclude that this study is one which flourishes within their precincts.

On this point we shall give no opinion of our own, but one which has been more than once expressed to ourselves by one of the professors themselves. If this opinion is correct it is a case which demands the most earnest attention of our spiritual rulers. "The junior clergy have almost ceased to study theology."

We shall not assert the correctness of this opinion, but, coming from the quarter from which it does, we feel ourselves justified in arguing from it, on the supposition that it contains a considerable portion of truth.

And, first, as to the results which must follow if such a state of things is not arrested. The office of the Christian minister is essentially a continuation of that of the prophet of the Jewish and the Apostolical Christian Church. It is in no proper sense of the term a priesthood. As inspiration is now no longer imparted, the lack of it can only be supplied by study. A man destitute of knowledge will feel himself destitute of all claim to the prophetic office. He cannot teach. The teacher must be superior in knowledge to the taught. The Presbyterian who feels himself to be no teacher will take refuge in attempting to make himself a priest. For the efficient exercise of the office of a priest, as distinct from that of teacher, a modicum of mental endowment is all which is required. If, therefore, we view the question from this point of view, the enormously increased priestly assumptions and tendencies of the clergy of the English Church bear out the assertion of our friend.

This tendency must increase. A clergyman, as long as he is a man, cannot bear to feel himself a nonentity. If he has no personal power in himself, he must create a power in virtue of his office; in one word, he must try to persuade mankind that he is a priest.

Two clergymen of opposite tendencies were discussing on the subject of the relative merits of preaching and of a service conducted on the principles of Ritualism. The High Churchman said to the other, "You may assign what influence you will to preaching. I am not prepared to deny it. But while you cannot find one clergyman in ten whose talents and knowledge would make him tolerable as a preacher, you may easily educate the other nine to take a decent part in a ritualistic system of worship." The remark is, to say the least, a striking one. Instead of thinking it to be a defence of Ritualism, we view it to be an argument for vigorously setting ourselves to remedy the evil.

The sources of the evil we must endeavour to point out. Unless study is pursued on purely conscientious grounds, under the existing state of things it has no sufficient inducement to urge it forward. The Church of England never has supposed that she was likely to be served by a body of men animated by conscientious considerations alone. The whole of her ecclesiastical polity is formed on the supposition that it is necessary that a variety of other stimuli should be applied. This is the ground on which the enormous inequality of clerical endowments is founded, and by which alone it can be defended. Ministers will be men.

We must seek in this direction for the cause in question. There are no sufficient stimuli for the study of theology. Theological knowledge is no passport to patronage in the Church. That is determined by almost an infinite variety of other influences. *The Times* is no mean authority in such matters, and not long ago it boldly asserted that such qualifications are about the last things which patrons consider.

A general complaint of the want of pulpit power manifested by the clergy is growing loud. Sermons are, as a rule, dull, dead, uninteresting. The preacher seems to think that he is bound to occupy himself a half or three-quarters of an hour

in talking or reading about something or nothing. The congregation are of opinion that they are bound to spend this time in decorously listening. Both parties—but certainly the congregation—are glad when this infliction is over. Whatever power the pulpit once had it has certainly ceased to possess. If hour-glasses were used to regulate the length of discourses, it is certain that congregations would not solicit the best of preachers, when the sand was nearly run out, to turn it over. No sovereign or archbishop now-a-day, even if he were able, would think it worth while to put forth a proclamation to forbid preachers from discussing points of controversy. The pulpit seems to exert little influence on any question of the day, either religious, political, or social. The prophetic power is rapidly passing from the Church.

Of a portion of this evil both clergy and laity are joint causes. The clergy are ready to try their hands at everything; the laity are too willing to escape from their responsibilities by encouraging them. Both voluntarily forget that the Apostles instituted an order in the Church for the express purpose that those exercising the higher functions of the Christian ministry should not be compelled to leave the Word of God and serve tables. While this table-serving on the part of the clergy is so general, the studies necessary to enable them to give themselves to the ministry of the Word are out of the question. We may blow with our bellows as long as we please on the wood and the coals, but the fire will never kindle without the application of flame.

Congregations expect the clergy to preach too many sermons. This folly on their part is aided by the desire which some men have to be always talking. The volubility of some is doubtless large, but the number of ideas which most men possess is very limited. Hence, unless they are recruited by study, the result will approximate to zero. People seem never to understand that the only way of making a small quantity of gold cover a large space is by hammering it out thinner and thinner. If congregations will have the same man always in the pulpit, the result is that he must utter nonsense. As nature is less prolific of prophets than she is of primroses, if sermons are to be of any value, their number must be reduced.

But are our universities blameless? We answer, that they fail to give any real encouragement to the study of theology.

Our universities insist on the possession of a certain minimum of knowledge as necessary for obtaining what is called a pass; but in this branch of knowledge they refuse to confer honours. The smallness of the knowledge which is necessary for a pass is well known. One examination beyond what is necessary for attaining a degree exists. That at Cambridge, by a singular misnomer, is called the Voluntary. Although voluntary, as regards the requisitions of the university, it so happens that the bishops insist on it as a pre-requisite before they will allow a man to become a candidate for holy orders. All such candidates are obliged to pass this voluntary examination, and it need not be said that the numbers who do so are very large. As a consequence, the standard for a pass is supremely low. A pupil of our own once passed, whom our utmost charity must pronounce to have been deplorably ignorant, and whose failure we predicted. Our prophetic insight was certainly at fault; but it was not in fault as to this gentleman's attainments, but as to the amount of knowledge which we supposed that a body of examiners must certainly insist on before they would consider a man worthy even of a pass. That such was the fact was proved by the gentleman being subsequently plucked by the bishop for priest's orders. It was always considered that the theological requirements for a degree at Oxford were higher than those at Cambridge. The bishops, therefore, never insisted that the somewhat kindred voluntary examination at Oxford should be passed by the candidates for orders. It has, therefore, been of so purely voluntary a character, that although examiners were regularly appointed, scarcely any candidates presented themselves. In fact, it proved so utter a failure, that we do not know whether it has not now died a natural death.

A study, then, which a university feels that it cannot stimulate by conferring honours as the reward of advanced proficiency, and which is not necessary for advancement in a young man's subsequent profession, is certain to languish. He naturally betakes himself to studies which tell on his prospects in life.

We are aware that many objections have been urged against

conferring honours in theology. Our limits will not allow us to discuss them. We can only say that we believe them to be devoid of any solid foundation; and express our firm belief that even if professors lecture like angels, unless superior knowledge can be made to bear on a man's prospects in life, the study will inevitably languish. We can only add, that if the younger clergy have ceased to read, the authorities of the universities and of the Church cannot be too quick in applying a remedy to so great an evil.

Nothing can be more unsatisfactory than the mode of conferring theological degrees. There is nothing but the ghost of an examination exacted for them. All that they really denote is, that the possessor is of a certain number of terms' standing, and that he has paid fees to a particular amount. The theses and disputations which must be performed before the Regius Professor can be got through by anybody. It seems to us that as the lowest degree is a certificate on the part of the university that the possessor has a certain amount of learning, so a superior degree ought to be an evidence of superior learning. But, as things are managed at present, when a schoolmaster, who has taken no honours, wishes to puff himself off to the public, his best mode of doing so is to decorate himself with the degree of D.D. It is quite unworthy of a literary republic to grant distinctions whose foundation is zero. The public cannot bring themselves to believe that the degree of D.D. means nothing; or rather, that it denotes only the extent of the possessor's vanity. In the middle ages, when these degrees originated, they were proofs of real proficiency. The old system has passed away, and they are nothing in the new.

It has been urged as a defence, that it is an ungracious thing to call on a man, who has attained the age of a candidate for the degree of D.D., to submit to an examination. We answer, that it is still more ungracious for such a man to ask a university to decorate him with a certificate of proficiency without the smallest evidence that he is worthy of it. If a man is not ashamed to ask for a degree, let him not be ashamed to submit to a *bond fide* examination. If such examination is impossible, let the degree be abolished. But the difficulty might easily be

avoided. Let the degree of D.D. be reserved as a distinction to be conferred by the university on those who, in its judgment, have composed works in theology worthy of that honour. It has been commonly said that the attainments of one of Lord Palmerston's bishops were such, that he would have been unable to examine the candidates for orders in the Greek Testament. Why should such a man be decorated with the degree of D.D. while the author of an important work is allowed to remain without distinction.

The degree of M.A. is not only conferred without an examination, but without even the semblance of one. We protest against the principle of conferring degrees without the smallest proof of proficiency. If the degree of M.A. simply means that a man has passed the B.A.'s examination, why confer on him a degree which certainly implies that he has done something more. The London University proves the practicability of enforcing an examination for this degree, and of making it the reward of additional proficiency.

Another subject, deserving of the gravest consideration, is the diminished supply of men educated at the universities as candidates for holy orders, and the increasing number of literates who are consequently ordained. Our space will only allow us to refer to one or two points.

The decrease is unquestionable, and this, despite of the increase in curates' stipends. Those who have been in the habit of reading clerical advertisements well know that it is now far easier to procure a curacy worth £120 than it was, twenty years ago, one of £90 per annum. We can hardly assert, in the face of this fact, that the smallness of the remuneration is the sole cause of the diminished supply.

The real cause must be sought, not so much in the inadequacy of the payment which a young man gets as curate, but in the hopelessness of a man who has no interest of ever attaining a position of independence. If all present curacies could be converted into incumbencies, instead of being a deficient, there would be an overwhelming, supply. However small an incumbency is, hundreds of men can be found to take it. The extinction of pluralities has had an influence. These



curacies were virtually independent spheres, and they were open to men destitute of interest. A man must have strong devotion to his work who can encounter the prospect of £120 per annum, and perpetual dependence on the will of another—it may frequently be a much less able man than himself.

To remedy this state of things, it has been proposed to found a poor man's college at Oxford, and subscriptions have been entered into with that object. It has been proposed to found one in commemoration of the late Mr. Keble.

In addition to this, various colleges have already been established elsewhere, for the purpose of enabling men to enter the ministry without the expense of a university education. These supply no inconsiderable number of the candidates for holy orders. The increasing numbers of such candidates has been felt to be highly objectionable; and it is for the purpose of obviating this that the scheme of the poor man's college has originated.

We cordially concur with those who view the increasing necessity of recruiting the supply of clergy from these colleges as a great evil. Recent disclosures respecting St. Bees are far from re-assuring; and we happen to know, from the testimony of the principal, that the education supplied by another of these institutions is of a very low order. If our memory is correct, the course of study is two years, and is confined to imparting that knowledge of Greek which will enable the students to assume the appearance of construing the Greek Testament, and to the study of a few books of theology. "Considering the state of preparation in which men come to me," said the principal, "how can I do more?" We fully admit the impossibility of polishing the material in question better. But we cannot help asking, in solemn earnestness, can such a course of education, without the aid of inspiration, make a man an able minister of the New Testament?

The knowledge of Greek, which only enables a man to construe the Greek Testament, is absolutely worthless in a theological point of view. It may be useful to enable men to pass bishops' examinations, but it is utterly useless for the study of the Scriptures. If it is limited to the bare ability to

construe it by rote, which is, we apprehend, the thing intended, its effect is to delude a man into the belief that he possesses a knowledge of which he is utterly void. The mere study of a few theological works, unaided by other and more enlarged studies, is worthless as a mental discipline, and its natural tendency is to produce intense narrowness of mind.

We heartily wish that our universities would take this question in hand, and, by an enlargement of their existing system, supersede the necessity of these so-called colleges, or, at any rate, the necessity of admitting literates in larger numbers as candidates for ordination. This can only be effected by devising a well-planned system of affiliation, after the model of the London University, or by enlarging our existing system, and keeping a watchful eye on the question of expenses.

With all our desire for university extension, we look with a doubtful eye on the idea of founding a college exclusively intended for poor men. Our suspicions of its utility are considerably increased when we consider that such an institution as the proposed Keble College will probably become the stronghold of a religious party, which we should consider an unmitigated evil. But the idea of a poor man's college as a separate institution seems sufficiently condemned, because its members would be virtually ostracized, thus debarring them from one of the great advantages of university education—the mixture of classes, and the self-education which it involves. The existing colleges have within themselves all needful resources for enlargement. The founding of a single new college, with only the means in hand, will be a distant imitation of Sydney Smith's fiction of driving back the Atlantic with a mop. The only means by which the want can be supplied, other than by adopting the principle of affiliation, is by enlarging the existing colleges, where the means of enlargement is possible, and by using the resources of the others to the utmost of their power. Several of the Oxford colleges—such as Christchurch, Magdalen, Worcester, St. John's, New College, Corpus, and Merton—as far as the question of space is concerned, may be enlarged to any required extent. They might be made to educate as

many students as Trinity or St. John's College, Cambridge, which are jointly nearly as large as the rest of the university put together. Nor, if the alleged increase of college funds is correct, would the means be wanting. Besides, if the universities would enlarge their system, so as to embrace the nation, and they could make out a case requiring such assistance, the aid of Parliament would not be denied. An enlarged staff, both of professors and tutors, might be needful; but if the universities would set themselves heartily to the work of extension, we firmly believe that the requisite funds would be forthcoming. Such an extension must not be confined wholly to the education of the clergy.

The question of the students' expenses is no doubt a very serious one. Something must be done to diminish college charges by a more wise employment of existing funds. Vigilant government might check other expenses; but it should be always borne in mind that the chief expense of a university arises more from the habits of the students themselves than from the necessary expenses of the system. The *Cambridge Calendar* informs us that at one of the colleges the whole of the expenses incurred by the student, besides books and clothes, is under eighty pounds a year. This is, of course, exclusive of the expenses of the vacations. The best college in Oxford—Balliol—is likewise the cheapest. Other colleges exist where the expenses need not exceed this. What is done in one ought to be done in all; and even if the funds were judiciously used, the charges for room-rent and tuition might be reduced. What is wanting is that tutors and parents should keep a look-out on the expenditure of poorer students. The amount of this expenditure is largely in their own hands. The danger is that poor men will attempt to ape the expenditure of those who are richer. To prevent this we are far from desiring to debar the wealthier man from the fair employment of his wealth. We are of opinion that poorer men in a university are bound to exercise self-restraint. They need not be the subjects of contempt because they are poor. Intellectual power will always succeed in maintaining to itself a fair position in our universities.

We shall not discuss the scheme of affiliated institutions

until we are convinced that our present universities cannot be enlarged to meet the requirements of the nation. They have each considerably less than two thousand students. They have capabilities of doubling the number. It is a disgrace to the wealth of the Church of England if she cannot command the services of an educated body of ministers.

But, as we have already said, the great cause of the deficiency of duly qualified candidates for orders will be found to arise from the wholly unsatisfactory position of the curates. If a better system of promotion cannot be provided, something must be done to put the relation subsisting between the incumbent and the curate on a more satisfactory basis. It may be bearable for a few years, but as a life-long position it is intolerable; and until a movement is made in this direction, the want of duly qualified men will be an increasing evil. The payment is not sufficiently great to attract well qualified men who are actuated by ordinary motives, and the dependence on the will or the whims of another will deter those who are animated by a deep devotion to principle.

But we must not close without offering a few words on the admission of Dissenters.

As long as the Church of England holds its present position in connection with the State, efficient means ought to be provided by the universities for the education of its clergy. Provision having been made for this, their privileges should be made subservient to the good of every class which constitute the English nation.

We have already explained the nature of the exclusions to which Dissenters are at present subject. At Cambridge a case has occurred where they operate not only as a hardship on the individual, but detrimentally to the interests of the university itself. A gentleman, who was not a member of the Church of England, attained the honour of Senior Wrangler, but was excluded from his fellowship on account of his creed. The highest honours of the University of Cambridge are awarded for eminence in subjects into which theological questions do not enter.

The large majority by which the House of Commons has assented to the bill of Mr. Coleridge proves that these restric-

tions in their present form will not be allowed to continue long. We think that they ought to be made to cease, both on principles of justice and policy.

It is in vain any longer to plead the rules of founders as a bar to the admission of Dissenters. In what manner founders would have acted, had they lived at the present day, when Dissenters include nearly half of the religious portion of the community, it is impossible to say; but their intentions, whatever they were, have been disregarded for centuries in the most material points, and have at last been formally superseded by an act of the legislature. The property held by the colleges stands now in the position of a bequest intended to promote the interests of religion, literature, and science. Nothing is more certain than that, if we must revert to the literal intentions of founders, all the present occupants of college endowments must be displaced, and new ones substituted. The property can only be viewed as national property devoted to a particular purpose.

A large portion of the studies of the universities are entirely disconnected with theology. They embrace—or, rather, should embrace—the whole round of literature, science, and history. This, as the groundwork, forms the only basis on which a sound study of theology can be erected. Without an extensive knowledge of these subjects no scientific theology can exist. God has united things natural and revealed by the most indissoluble bonds. They are mutually correlated to each other.

In everything, therefore, not immediately connected with the special teaching of theology, the greatest advantage would be gained by freeing our universities from all religious tests. Nothing is more detrimental to the study of history, science, or literature, than that they should be studied through the spectacles of a peculiar religious bias. Whenever they are so, the results injuriously affect the study of theology itself.

The only thing necessary is, that a special department should be provided in each college for the instruction in theology of such of its members as are members of the Church of England, and destined to become its ministers.

But there are large regions of theology, and of subjects closely connected with it, in the study of which no sectarian

principle is involved, and which the intrusion of sectarianism only damages. Among these we may enumerate the principles of the exegesis of Holy Scripture, a professor of which exists at Oxford: the criticism of the texts of the Old and New Testament, the evidences of Christianity, the nature of the inspiration of the sacred books, the union between religious and moral truth, and ecclesiastical history. If these subjects were treated as they ought to be, the student should never be able to determine from the mode of treatment whether the teacher was a Churchman or a Dissenter. The questions involved in the battle of the churches have no *locus standi* in any of these subjects, and can only be introduced to the great prejudice of their successful treatment.

No study has more suffered from the introduction of principles entirely irrelevant to it than that of ecclesiastical history. It has been allowed to be made the battle-field of the sects, until its certainty is become a matter of scepticism. Ecclesiastical history, like all other history, involves a simple question of evidence. As such it differs in no respect from the history of England or of France. It is possible in every department to write romances instead of history, and this can be as readily done in that of our own country as in the history of religion. We again repeat that the truth of history depends on the sufficiency of the testimony. Is the evidence sufficient to prove that a particular event happened? No question has been more debated than the nature of the government of the early Christian Church.

Heated partizans fail to discover truth because they persist in seeking it with variously coloured spectacles. Still the evidence on all these points is either certain, probable, or doubtful; and to put forth what is doubtful in point of evidence, or even what is probable as veritable truth, is to set forth religious romances instead of history.

The so-called doctrine of apostolical succession is a striking illustration of this danger. It may or may not be in the New Testament; but granting that it is there most plainly set forth, the question of whether any particular church or bishop can trace its lineage to the apostles, rests on a simple matter of

historical evidence. Into that evidence the supposed doctrine ought not to intrude. Because we believe the doctrine true, we have no right to say that the evidence is good if it be worthless.

Many say, if such a thing is asserted in Scripture, we must find the facts in history. But the question of the historical evidence is quite distinct from the Scripture doctrine. The failure of historical evidence to support it, may be sufficient for questioning the truth of our conclusions respecting a Scriptural doctrine; but our acquiescence in a statement as a Scriptural truth, is no reason for taking the evidence which history supplies us respecting actual facts for more or less than it is worth. No department of theology has more suffered from the intrusion of questions wholly unconnected with it than that of ecclesiastical history. Everything which tends to break down the influence of sectarianism, would help to place it on a legitimate basis.

It has been often urged that the admission of Dissenters into our universities would tend to disturb their harmony and peace. We are not quite sure that what is usually called harmony and peace, in respect to theology, does not really mean stagnation. But the objection proves that anything will do with those who have their minds already made up, and that such persons are reckless of all logical consequences. We ask, does not the Church of England, in her existing form, contain within her nearly every form of theological opinion which exists outside her pale? The only form of belief which is necessarily excluded, is that aspect of dissent which asserts the unlawfulness of national endowments for the promotion of religious truth. But from this we cannot see any great danger of a breach of the peace. We have heard of those who boldly say, "Don't practice what I do, but what I say." But we can hardly conceive of that degree of religious effrontery which would consent to accept the endowments of the State, and then proceed to use the very position thus obtained as a vantage ground for attacking the principle.

Every variety of religious thought is to be found in our universities as at present constituted. They are faithful reflec-

tions of the diversities of opinion in the Church. They contain high, low, and broad Churchmen of every variety and hue. To this Oxford, if not Cambridge, adds a sprinkling of Comtism. Fellows of Oxford Colleges are habitual writers in the *Westminster Review*. We cannot conceive how it is possible that the harmony of such a family can be disturbed by Dissenters.

The present system contains no guarantee whatever for the unity of religious teaching, and we rejoice that it does not. There are six Professors of Divinity at Oxford, and no two of them agree on religious opinions. The highest Churchman must attend the lectures of the Regius Professor; the lowest those of Dr. Pusey, if he wishes the benefit of his Hebrew lectures; the strongest Platonist has no refuge but to attend those of Dr. Mansel, if he wishes instruction in his particular department; and the greatest opponent of non-residence must hear the duties of pastoral theology dilated on by a professor who is absent half the year from his living. A similar state of things, doubtless, exists at Cambridge. We cannot conceive why the admission of Dissenters must be attended with the effect of violating a harmony which is unbroken by such diversity.

We freely confess our disappointment at the smallness of the result which the present application of the revenues of our universities have produced on the study of theology. It is a humiliating fact, that for all works involving deep research we are obliged to have recourse to the aid of German writers. Scarcely a single writer who has been bred at our universities can compete with them. Nor are we more fruitful in the production of great works bearing on our own religious wants. With two or three exceptions, the Church of England has produced no great work on theology during the present generation. Moral philosophy, in its application to religion, has scarcely advanced a step since the days of Butler. No really great work has appeared in reference to the great controversies of the day. All the attempts to deal with them have been either ephemeral or very partial. How numerous are the questions which science has and is still originating respecting the nature of the Old Testament which require an answer! We have been waiting to



see the authenticity of the Gospels handled in a great work from the pen of one of our own countrymen ; but we have waited in vain. We are thankful to Dean Milman for what he has effected in the department of ecclesiastical history. Still much remains to be accomplished before we can read ecclesiastical with the assurance with which we can read ordinary history. The same thing ought to be done for it which Sir C. Lewis has effected for the history of Rome. We require to be informed what portion rests on an historical foundation. Urgent is our need in the cause of truth for a revised version of the Old and New Testament. Our learned men proclaim the manifold defects of our present translation, and stand by with folded arms. Surely our well-endowed Church and universities ought to minister a supply of food to our spiritual famine. Such a result can hardly be hoped for while those positions in the Church, which its theory declares to be provided for the reward of men devoted to the study of theology, are bestowed on men who are unknown as successful students either in theology or science, whose only recommendation is birth or interest. While such continues to be the practice, these endowments, instead of being an encouragement, are a great hindrance to the pursuit of theological knowledge. Men will feel that they can get on better without it.

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## THE EXPULSION FROM THE GARDEN.

BY ORIENTALIST.

IN Gen. iii. 22, God says, "The man is become as one of us to know good and evil." Satan had insidiously promised this, as a result of eating of the fruit; though Adam could not then have understood it; yet God now declares it in a higher sense, referring to the incarnate sufferings of Christ already predicted in the bruising of the heel. Satan held out as a good that which Adam too soon experienced to be evil—physical evil resulting from moral. He also availed himself of the plural Divine name אֱלֹהִים, *Elohim*,<sup>a</sup> laying blasphemous claims to divine honours for himself and his fallen compeers. Man having thus come to the experimental knowledge of evil, to partake of the fruit of the tree of life (lives), was a privilege for which he was in that state disqualified. It would, indeed, have conferred, emblematically, an immortality in which divine grace would have greatly alleviated the sorrows of every believer. Yet it would have been a mixed state, like that of believers in the present life, if indefinitely extended; much inferior in purity and happiness to the immorality which flows from redemption through the death of the physical and resurrection of the spiritual body. To prevent this interruption of the divine

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<sup>a</sup> The pl. of אֱלֹהִים; but of this there are various explanations. Fürst derives it from אֵל; but this ignores the last two letters; and he traces it to אֵל, in the sense of *potens*. But this is identified with אֵל, which in Chal. and Arab. means *first*; and which Fürst explains as *primarius*, but limits it by the gloss of *auctoritate*. Simon has the sense *prior, anterior, primus*. This original sense is preserved in Arabic. But while this root, as applicable to God, would express the truth of His being before all, and may account for the name אֵל, *El*, in the Bible, it does not account for *Elohim*. This has been by some derived from אָלַה, *alah*, to swear. To me this is unsatisfactory, as presupposing the knowledge of more than the primary idea of God. It would require Gen. i. 1 to be rendered, as some have proposed, *the swearers created*, etc. But the meaning is, I think, much simpler. Fürst gives אָלַה, also the sense of *Deum invocari*, and its Arabic sense is to worship. אֱלֹהִים *ilah*, is an object of worship, and אֱלֹהִים *Allah*—the object of worship. Hence Mohammed's creed: "no object of worship but God;" or no *ilah* except *Allah*. The *Elohim* are the objects of worship in the unity of the Divine Being, which theologians have long expressed by the word *Persons*.

gracious plan, as God had already placed man on a footing of justifying righteousness, He now proceeds to place him under a discipline of sanctifying grace. If this appear to be the meaning of the passage, it sheds a light on the primitive state of fallen man, relieving the gloom thrown over it by traditional interpretations which cause many to doubt whether Adam was an heir of salvation. We must be conscientiously careful not to wrest any word for the purpose of arriving at this conclusion ; but it seems plain to me that men, with the preformed idea that no light was given to Adam on his leaving the garden, have wrested (perhaps unconsciously) almost every word, to obscure this light ; and that if we go beyond all such glosses to the literal meaning of the primitive words, we shall find light given from heaven, and instituted means of grace ; God not leaving man without grace, nor Himself without a witness.

“Jehovah God sends him from the garden to cultivate the ground from which he was taken.” The ground, *אדמה*, *adamah*, from which he was taken, was not the garden, but earth’s common soil ; and as no return is intimated, his expulsion was for the term of his mortal life, which is tantamount to saying it was a final expulsion ; for after death believers are to enjoy not the terrestrial, but a more glorious home—“the Paradise of God.”

“And he expels this the man.” The English, by translating the word *vau* (and) by “so,” makes the clause now cited a mere tautology. But it is by no means a mere re-statement of the sending forth of Adam to cultivate the ground ; that fact standing alone would reveal no more than what is secular. It would throw no light on Adam’s career ; it would tell of his mortality, and only of that. But the clause is really the beginning of an oracle fraught with religious and exalted import. Let us, then, study this (24th) verse, clause by clause, and word by word, and with the most obvious and literal meaning of each.

The word for “expel” (*גרש*, *garash*) is stronger than the previous word for “send forth.” And it is applied not merely to “Adam,” the individual, but to “eth-ha-Adam,” “this the man,” which means all humanity. The expulsion was the

ejection of the human race. What, then? Are we to suppose that there has ever been and is now a spot on the earth's surface guarded by angels and a flaming sword? We might as well look for the mythic Mount Meru of the Bráhmans. There is no such spot. Geographers know none such; travellers find none. Will any say it ceased at some period? How do they know that to be fact? The Bible does not inform them; nor does ancient history or even tradition afford any trace of the withdrawal of such guardianship. If the angels and the sword were stationed as guardians, they are either guardians still, or man has gained access to the tree of life. But none has eaten of its fruit; for all are mortal. As all humanity was expatriated, that must continue as long as humanity in a mortal state exists on the earth. The expulsion meant much more than sending the primæval family down from the garden on the mount. It annulled for ever the difference between that garden and the rest of the world. Its plants and trees would shed their seeds, and be propagated like all other plants and trees; and, as useful for human purposes, they would be specially cultivated. Its animals would mix in the herds of the world's wilderness without distinction, except that they would still be, to a large extent, domestic and useful servants of man. The tree of knowledge had lost its typical meaning, and thenceforward would be simply a fruit tree, like every other in the orchard.

And now in the next clause a great change is announced as taking place with regard to the other emblematic tree. But preparatory to an explanation of this change, let me notice some allusions made in Scripture to the tree of life, without pausing to illustrate them.

The tree in the garden was such a symbol of the divine presence of the Son of God as was given to human view in after time, and theologically called by the term *Shekinah*, a noun derived from the very verb in the clause before us, יִשְׁכֵּן, *Yishken*, "makes to dwell." Now it was no more to be a permanent divine abode, as the word *Shekinah* means; but as the tree of life was a temporary *Shekinah*, it may be inquired how it was distinguished? I reply, by its being illuminated by

the light which has been always an emblem of the Holy Spirit, who for that reason is called "the Light."<sup>b</sup> As the tree was an emblem of Christ, its illumination made it a double emblem of the Son and the Spirit. Such Shekinahs we often read of in Bible history. One we find in the fire which, though not expressly named in the fourth chapter, is generally, and I think truly, regarded as having consumed Abel's offering. Another was the fire which, in like manner, as we may equally infer, consumed that of Noah. Another was the burning lamp (Gen. xv. 17) which Abraham beheld passing between the pieces of his sacrifice. Another was the burning and unconsumed bush exhibited to Moses on Horeb; and Horeb (חרב), be it observed, is the same as a word in the text, though translators, by rendering it "sword," have made it appear different. Another was the pillar of fire in the desert. And the Church in that period of history had the cloud of glory over the mercy-seat. And the tabernacle and temple had the seven-branched candlestick, with its light, representing the illuminated tree of life. And Zechariah, near the close of the old and almost on the eve of the great gospel age, saw in vision two olive trees producing the oil for the double purpose of light and of unction. When we enter on the new age we have the star of Bethlehem, the light of Christ on the mount of transfiguration, the glory that shone on Paul at his conversion, and, not to multiply, the glory illuming the tree of life in the New Jerusalem. All these shew how the inspired writers never forgot the doubly emblematic Shekinah of the tree of life.

But it must be a Shekinah no more to Adam and his mortal race. And why? Because, as a symbol, it belonged to a dispensation of walking by sight. But Adam is now to walk by faith; therefore shall its light be removed, that he may look by faith to "the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen." The tree of life in the terrestrial garden shall, like that garden, possess henceforth merely the common character of earthly things, and be no more distinguished or set apart, and therefore no longer known. This is announced in the next words.

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<sup>b</sup> See Eph. v. 8; Tisch. and *Cod. Sin.*

"He makes to dwell in front of Eden the *Korebim*," or as the word is commonly spelled "Cherubim." "Makes to dwell" יִשְׁכֵּן, *Yishken*, is the verb from which is derived the noun "Shekinah." "In front of Eden" is the sense given to מִקְדָּם, etc., by the ancient translators generally; it implies that the first pilgrims in the wide wilderness were mercifully permitted to dwell near Eden, while a distant emigration might have been most perilous, if not impossible. כְּרֻבִים *Korebim*, is a word requiring a separate tractatus. Meantime I may here notice the fact that in the Hebrew text it is in this place written in the form of the active participle<sup>c</sup> of the verb כָּרַב to *plough*, to *engrave* or *sculpture*; while, in the later Scriptures, the word is in the form of the passive participle כְּרוּבִים *Kerubim*. From the root is derived the Greek γράφω, *I write*, as well as the Latin *scribo*. Hence we have *engrave*, *carve*, *sculpture*, etc. If taken, as I think it ought to be, according to the text, as an active or *poel* participle, it mean the *inscribers*, or first possessors of the art of engraving records on, rocks it may be, or tablets and pillars. This is the earliest idea of writing, and a proof of the primitive antiquity of this inspired record. And with it harmonizes the etymology given to our verb "write," to *grate*, or *scrape*. On the other hand, the Sanscrit has a word for "to write," लिपि, meaning to *paint*; to write as we do with pens, the Hindus with reeds, and the Chinese with hair pencils, by laying on a different colour. This indicates a later stage of the art. The first preserved writing was the record of the six days, or times of creation, graved probably on rocks, and afterwards transcribed in portable form, and followed in the course of ages by the use of slabs, tablets, bark, leaves, etc. But if the word be taken in the passive form, following the Greek orthography and the punctuation, in preference to the text, it will express not the *inscribers*, but the *things inscribed*, the primitive inspired records, the com-

<sup>c</sup> Kennicott, in Genesis iii. 24, in his famous Hebrew Bible, prints the word with an asterisk to mark the absence of the *vau*, כְּרֻבִים, shewing that he wished to conform the word in this place to the form in the later Scriptures, but was unable to find evidence in codices to support this change. It were to be wished that the LXX. and succeeding translators had been equally scrupulous.

mencement of the Word of God. These lead to the same conclusion; the one implies the other. If there were writers, there were writings; and if writings, there were writers. And who were these? Clearly no other than Adam and his family. Adam had heard the words of God; he had enjoyed the visions of God; he was moreover a type of the second Adam; he was a prophet; and so he is regarded by Jews and Mohammedans, though we rest not in their opinion, except when it coincides with what we can discover from Scripture. All this proves the fact that as soon as men were placed in the world's desert, they were furnished with something better than the unsafe traditions to which not only Romanists, but unhappily too many Protestants, vainly cling. It presents us with one essential requisite for family and public worship, and for the existence of a church—the written and inspired Word; in accordance with this we previously found reason to conclude that Adam possessed the arts of writing and reading, when he “gave” (קרא *to call, utter, read*) names to the beasts and birds of the garden.

The next clause informs that God *made to dwell* there what is rendered “a flaming sword, turning every way,” but which more literally rendered is “the flame of the desert turning back,” or reverting itself. What is this flame, but what erst illuminated the Tree of Life? It is in the garden no more; for the world is no more man's home; and the emblematical light turning away from the first place is to be his Shekinah in the world. This is indicated by the word מִתְהַפֶּכֶת *mithhaseketh*, very incorrectly rendered “turning every way,” or revolving. But it means turning the other or opposite way, shifting its position from the Tree of Life, no longer significant, to the tabernacle of earliest worship without the garden. The text thus teaches that the emblematical light or flame (לֹהֵט *lohat*) of the desert, left the garden, to be with man an emblem of the Holy Spirit, not indeed permanently, for the turning back or shifting implies change of appearance, disappearance, etc., but as a light of grace within the soul, and there producing faith in the coming Saviour, the true Tree of Life; and shining out occasionally in visible Shekinahs as above specified, when-

ever it pleased God to enlarge the sphere of inspired truth by a new theophany.

But how are we to understand the last clause, "to keep the way of the Tree of Life;" and how am I to dispose of the popular idea of the guardian angels and the sword? No matter how popular the latter, since it is not in the text apart from the colouring shed on it by human theory. The word rendered "sword" is **חרב** *khareb*, which also means dryness, or aridity, and *desert* (see Fürst). The word **להט** *lohat*, rendered as an adjective "flaming," is more naturally a noun construct, "flame or fire of the desert." The word **שמר** *shamar*, "to keep,"<sup>4</sup> expresses not the heathen idea of griffins or dragons keeping the garden of the Hesperides, so as to prevent access, but the sense of keeping or observing the commandments of God. It is used of keeping the law. We are exhorted "to fear God and keep (*shamar*) his commandments." Its equivalent in Greek, *τηρέω*, is used by Christ; "to observe, *τηρέιν*, all things which I have commanded you." And, lastly, the word **דרך** *derek*, "way," is a common word in Hebrew, as is its equivalent *ὁδός*, way, in Greek, to express the course of duty and religion, as Paul "taught Apollos the way of God more perfectly;" and as it is said, "The way of the righteous, and of the wicked." The design of "the flame of the desert" was not to exclude men from the Eden, a superfluous design when it had no longer the life-giving virtue, but to be the leading star of the primitive family and believers through the course of ages, pointing them to the antitypal Tree of Life now revealed in the New Testament, and bearing its perpetual fruit in the New Jerusalem, the Lord our Risen Redeemer.

Thus how sweet the comfort of the Gospel lights alleviating the terrors of man's expulsion from the terrestrial garden.

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<sup>4</sup> If applied to a house, property, or person, etc., it would imply the idea of guardianship; but here it is applied to "a way," which Fürst defines (*inter alia*) "*ratio, institum, usus, via, vivendi*," reason, institute, custom, way of life.



## JOB.

*Introduction.*—A great author has remarked that the only cure for the evil of the immense multiplicity of books on almost every subject is, to write more. Books upon books must be written until *the* book on the subject appears. If this be true as a general observation, it is most pointedly true concerning the Book of Job. How many essays—yea, how many large volumes—have been written on this subject. Everything, indeed, relating to Job has been prolific; even the very furrows which his enemies ploughed on his back have been the cause of witticisms. To begin at the beginning: Where the land of Uz was to be sought was an inquiry which has given rise to a variety of opinions, and to not a few excursus, good, bad, and indifferent. Whether such a person as Job ever lived; if he lived, when he lived—these questions have been keenly debated in ancient and modern times. Supposing those points settled, What is the Book of Job? Is it a real history, or a pure fiction? If a fiction, what sort of a fiction?—a parable, or an allegory, or what? Or, is it partly historical, and partly fictitious?

Passing on to other matters, we have queries, not easily counted, about Eliphaz the Temanite, and the others of those celebrated friends; and Eliphaz and the rest of the three comforters have had their special expounders.

Next, Elihu comes before us, with a host of interrogatories in his train. Is Elihu, like Melchisedek, another Logophany, or ante-Christian representative of the Messiah, or is he simply an intruder into company where he was not wanted, and little better than a self-sufficient meddler with matters too high for him? It has been thought that Elihu gives the true solution of the grand controversy; and it has been thought that he was simply an idle babbler, dealing commonly in platitudes and commonplace, though pretentious, *wise saws*.

Of all the questions asked concerning this Book of Job, none relates to a thing of more importance than the query whether there be indeed a veritable solution of the great matter debated through the body of the work. This query again raises the previous question concerning the matter which was in reality in

controversy. In fine, the controversy, and the solution thereof, if there be such, are the most weighty matters as touching the contents of the Book of Job.

No doubt the question concerning the author of the production—and therefore the age thereof—is also a most weighty affair; second, indeed, in importance only to the class of questions adverted to immediately before.

This being so, it is my intention to devote some pages to the discussion of the topics which I have more especially indicated. I shall then direct the reader's attention to the subject of *The Author and the Age of the Book of Job*, and afterwards I shall handle the subject of *The Problem and the Solution*.

One never knows to what a perseveringly-pursued investigation shall conduct. The thing is true—and yet who could have supposed it?—that my long and careful study of the *à priori* proof of the attributes of the Deity has conducted me to the discovery, first, that there *is* a solution of the tremendous problem discussed in Job. In the next place, the *à priori* argument led me to discover what the true solution consists in. Let no man say that any great truth can possibly be unfertile. Yea, a rich idea may produce fruit in a field which appears to be far removed indeed from the scene of investigation. Up to the present time, as Delitzsch can testify, the solution is unknown, and its nature is little dreamt of in any commentator's philosophy, or (should a reference to *philosophy* grieve the spirit of injured commentators) at least theology or divinity. That the long-decried *à priori* argumentation for a God should be the means of helping us to an insight on the highly important subject adverted to, may be a matter for more than the proverbially usual nine days' wonder.

*The Author and the Age of the Book of Job.*—The Book of Job was prepared by Moses when he was in the land of Midian. It was written either as an original composition, or it is a compilation in which pre-existent materials were largely used. At least, the book in question was a product of some period antecedent to the commencement of the mission of Moses to his countrymen in Egypt. This opinion has been the prevalent one in all ages of the Church. It prevailed in the Church as it

existed before the appearance of our Lord, and it has prevailed since. In fact, the Church-consciousness has, in an instinctive manner, always held firmly to that belief.<sup>a</sup> With regard, then, to this old-fashioned opinion, our reasons for entertaining it are mainly the following.

By shrewd and thoughtful writers it has been clearly perceived that there were only two great periods, or stages, in the history of the Israelitish Church during which such a phenomenon as the Book of Job was possible. This book discusses no question peculiar to the domain of religion as under the Law, or as under the peculiarity of any particular dispensation. On the contrary, the question discussed belongs to the domain of natural religion only, of which one very good evidence lies on the surface. In the book in question the three speakers or friends, and Job in replying to them, use, concerning the Supreme Being, not His sacred revealed name, *JEHOVAH*, but terms drawn from the region of common or natural religion—mainly *God* and the *Almighty*.<sup>b</sup> But, taking the point that the question of the

<sup>a</sup> It is by no means to be denied that opinions very different have been held too. And some of the opinions alluded to have been advocated by the most eminent critics and commentators, especially in modern times.

While Dr. Kitto, a good representative of our English practical judgment, patronizes the old-fashioned sentiment, the clever Warburton, in the last century, was a strong advocate of the more modern way. To whom names as celebrated as those of Hengstenberg and Delitzsch, among German critics and commentators, may, and many other names might, be added.

<sup>b</sup> The facts of the case are as follows:—The sacred name occurs freely, though not exclusively, in the introductory portion of the book, extending to the end of chap. ii. In the concluding portion, contained in chap. xlii., "*Jehovah*" only occurs. In the intermediate, or poetical portion, extending from the beginning of chap. iii. to the end of chap. xxxvii., containing the whole of the disputation, the term *Jehovah* never occurs but once; and the exceptional instance serves to make the rule observed by the author more striking. The Lord's speech, in chaps. xxxviii.—xli., necessitated the employment of the sacred name. But this portion of the book, although poetical, and consisting of poetry not surpassed in sublimity and general grandeur even by any other part of the unique composition, forms no constituent of the controversy concerning the cause of the peculiar sufferings of the peculiarly righteous man. On the contrary, it constitutes the majestic judgment passed upon the disputation, and especially on Job's department of it. The portion of the book now in question is, in fact, no part of the disputation, but is the decisive solution of the same, as the author's plan necessitated, and as we shall elsewhere see fully established.

book appertains to the region of natural religion, or general theism, for granted, I repeat that there were only two periods at which the phenomenon of the Book of Job was a possibility ; and at one or other of the times it must have come into existence. It

It would have been contrary to the rules valid for the inspired writers for one of them to put words of such a kind into the mouth of *El* or *Shaddai*. The exception referred to is to be found in chap. xii. 9 ; and, in truth, a special reason for the exceptional usage may be assigned.

In Job there are at least three distinct references to the early portion of Genesis, or, at any rate, to the facts in the narrative of that book. The first of the places is this passage of chap. xii., where the word "Jehovah" occurs. In verses 7—10 a reference is tacitly made to Gen. i. 26, 28, and, mediately, to ii. 7. Of this there can hardly be a doubt to him who compares the passages. The second instance is in chap. xxxi. 33, where the reference to the narrative in Gen. iii. is unmistakable. The third instance occurs in chap. xl. 15, where the reference to Gen. i. 24, and other verses, is quite obvious. *I made behemoth with thee*, in the one ; *The behemoth and man were together made on the same sixth day*, in the other place.

Now, a word as to the special reason for using the term *Jehovah*, and not God nor *Shaddai*, in Job xii. 9. As has been said, there are three references to Genesis, or to facts in—but not as narrated in—that book. The passage in chap. xii. is the first of the three. On supposition, now, that the author wished the reference to be understood as being to the record, and not to the open tradition, he had no better way of accomplishing his purpose than by the simple use of the revealed name—the sacred name applicable to the Deity as the revealed God—*JEHOVAH ELOHIM*. By employing the term *Jehovah* in the manner he has done in verses 9, 10, the place is made to be most intimately related to Gen. ii. 7, which passage again is simply another version of the history in chap. i. 26, 27, etc. In fine, the plan of the author required abstinence from aught but names of a general or wide nature. But the author desired, too, to afford a note of another thing he had in view. Hence, the sole exceptional instance in his use of the sacred names. The general object was attained ; so, also, was the special purpose. "Once only," says Hengstenberg, "does the author permit Job to break through the rule, and then in order that the avoidance elsewhere of the name *Jehovah* might be more distinctly seen to be intentional, and might not be traced to any merely external reasons."—*Introduction to Commentary on Ecclesiastes*.

In the speeches of the three friends, and of Job in replying to them, the Supreme Being is commonly referred to as *God*, the equivalent in the original being *El*, *Eloah*, *Elohim*. Often, too, the term *Almighty*, in Hebrew *Shaddai*, occurs. Once Job speaks of the Divine Being as the *Holy One*, chap. vi. 10. And once, i. e., in chap. xxviii. 28, Job applies *Adonai* (*Lord*) to God.

These seem to comprise the main peculiarities of the middle portion of the book, as touching the use of names applied to the Deity, and that there is in the Book of Job a studied plan in the use of names for the Divinity, no man can doubt. *Jehovah*, the sacred name of the Israelitish or Jewish Church for the

must have come forth either antecedently to the giving of the Law in connection with the mission of Moses, or subsequent to the Law; or, in other words, the system of Divine administration by means of a particular Providence. If the book appeared during the latter of the two periods, it must have been a product of the times subsequent to the great Babylonish captivity, at and after which era the *administration* of the particular Providence began sensibly to decline, and had become fainter and fainter, until, at length, we come down to the days of the Maccabees, when the operation of the system of the particular Providence seems to have been, for the most part, altogether wanting. You will find, for instance, that if a Maccabean force, intending to observe the requirements of the Law, decline to be ready to fight on the Sabbath, Jehovah had ceased to bless them with the sanction of the commandment. Obedience to the commandments was not met, as heretofore, by special rewards. In fact, the Jews had come to be practically under the arrangements of only the common Providence. Accordingly, on a certain occasion, the enemies of the Jews, taking advantage of their "keeping holy day," fell upon the army of Judas Maccabeus; and the same consequence happened as might happen in our day to an army neglecting on Sunday to be as prepared for battle as on Saturday.\*

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Supreme, prevails in the historical portion, while it is studiously avoided in the dramatic portion, ending with chap. xxxvii. On the other hand, in this poetical portion the term *El* is very much used, and no epithet in Hebrew could be better chosen for the purpose of its occurrence and recurrence, in a poetical argument touching a problem of natural theology. The other forms, *Eloah*, *Elohim*, are no more than manifestations of the same principle. *Eloah* (which Gesenius says occurs about forty times in Job) is mainly a poetical term. It is an expanded *El*, while *Elohim* may be said to be merely the plural form of the same word.

He who can doubt that the Divine names in Job are chosen in pursuance of a plan may doubt anything. The problem discussed in the great central portion of the book regards a standing difficulty appertaining to general theism; hence the use of *God* and *Almighty*—terms of a general import, which greatly concern the powerfulness of the Deity. But by the historical portion the book is attached to the living oracles. By the phraseology therein contained it is to be made to speak with the lip of the Hebrew of Canaan. Hence the appropriateness of the sacred tetragrammaton.

\* The particular occasion referred to is recorded in 2 Maccabees. "He (Antiochus) sent also that detestable ringleader, Apollonius, with an army of

In fine, the administration of the particular Providence had, in the meantime, almost entirely ceased among the people of the theocracy. The theocratic idea was preserved, and was absolutely imperishable among the chosen people; but the sensible evidences of the workings of the system which had Jehovah for the King of the royal nation were, to a great extent, indiscernible, except on rare and very signal occasions.

The Book of Job, we say, must have been published either before the Law, and independently of it, or, after the particular Providence had ceased, or, at least, had, as to its administration, greatly abated. To prove that the book did not make its appearance at the latter stage, is to prove that the other member of the alternative must be accepted, and that we must hold that the book came forth at the former of the two periods.

First, however, an observation as to why the Book of Job could not have been written under the Law, or while the administration thereof was in vigorous exercise; during the existence, in other words, of the full working of the system of the particular Providence. We must be able to assign a weighty reason for holding that to be impossible which no less a man than Delitzsch holds to be probable, and more than probable. This commentator on Job holds it to be the very fact of the case that the book is a production of the age of Solomon: yea, it is a very Solomonish product; possibly, one of the literary efforts of the thoughtful and accomplished monarch himself. Valid must be the argument on which we rest while we oppose the erudite critic's deliverance.<sup>d</sup>

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two-and-twenty thousand, commanding him to slay all those that were in their best age, and to sell the women and the younger sort: Who coming to Jerusalem, and pretending peace, did forbear till the holy day of the Sabbath, when taking the Jews keeping holy day, he commanded his men to arm themselves. And so he slew all them that were gone to the celebrating of the Sabbath, and running through the city with weapons, slew great multitudes. But Judas Maccabeus, with nine others, or thereabout, withdrew himself into the wilderness, and lived in the mountains, after the manner of beasts, with his company, who fed on herbs continually, lest they should be partakers of the pollution."—Chap. v. 24—27.

<sup>d</sup> In contending that the Book of Job is a production of the Solomonic or golden age of Hebrew literature, Delitzsch rests on such arguments as these:—“How improbable, all but impossible, that the poetical literature of Israel

Why, then, could not the Book of Job be a product of the time of the Law in its full operation and force?

Just because the problem discussed therein concerns no matter relating to the Law given by Moses. The question under debate in Job could not have occurred to the mind of an Israelite or a Jew during the reign of the Law, and the subsistence of the workings of a special Providence. The controversy carried on in Job regarded a difficulty connected with natural religion alone, and cannot be supposed to have been

should have taken its rise with such a *non plus ultra* of reflective poetry, and that this poem should have had Moses, the lawgiver, for its author!—"Introduction to Commentary on the Book of Job. Our critic could see, of course, no trace of reflective power in such an elegaic effusion as Psalm xc. And then Moses was incapacitated by the fact that he was, or was to be, a lawgiver. Yet, how many fine pieces of poetry are to be found among this man's laws? But a German critic, of the right sort, can assume grand airs when treating of a Moses; who, besides being "the man of God," happened, also, to be *the meekest of men*; and, therefore, he can bear that another should say to him, Friend, go down lower—below me.

Again: "The literature of the Chokma began with Solomon, whose peculiar gift was worldly wisdom. . . . The Book of Job" "bears throughout the stamp of that creative, beginning-period of the Chokma,—of that Salomonic age of knowledge and art, of deeper thought respecting revealed religion, and of intelligent, progressive culture of the traditional forms of art,—that unprecedented age, in which the literature corresponded to the summit of glorious magnificence to which the kingdom of the promise had then attained." Should a parcel of benighted islanders fail to perceive the convincingness of this sort of argumentation, can it be justly said to be the fault of the adept in the higher criticism? How very improbable, beforehand, that the poetic literature of glorious Hellas should have taken its rise with such a *non plus ultra* as the perfect *Iliad*! How very improbable that a poem, so full of the results of *worldly wisdom* as is the *Odyssey*, should have been the production of a blind man!

But how can an industrious German commentator, however learned, be expected to understand the pregnant circumstance that genius of the highest sort (like that required for the birth of a Book of Job or an *Iliad*) is infinitely above and beyond the sphere of all common rules. Genius equal to that possessed by the author of such a creation as *Job* is a law unto itself, and will acknowledge no other lawgiver. The only law mighty genius, in loftiest manifestations, submits to is the law of its aversion to worn-out surroundings. Utterly effete circumstances, conditioning all things around, seem to have a power, if not to clip the feathers of the winged horse of the sun, at least to attach themselves, as a clogging dead weight, to the wings which—if unlubricated so—would expand and soar heavenwards. Effete surroundings appear to damp the ardours of genius, as a wet blanket is some way adequate to cool the heats of sthenic fever.

started and set forth in this way by genuine descendants of Abraham. The discussion of a problem in natural religion, or general theism, could have had no interest to a true Hebrew, while the theocracy, in its intensity, lasted; or, let us say, so long as the idea of the Divine government of Israel, by Jehovah, remained to the fore.

A cognate consideration of much weight and importance remains to be noticed. In point of fact, the Book of Job was adopted into the Jewish canon, and it could not have been so adopted as having any, even the least, reference to any matter peculiar to the chosen generation, the holy nation, or to any single member thereof. There would have been the absence of all that decorum which Divine order requires in everything, in writing a book concerned only with speculations touching the ordinary providences of general theism, and in inserting it in the canon during the subsistence of the law, or government by means of the purely special Providence. When one conceives an Israelite indeed, or a genuine Jew troubled in the inmost depths of his soul with a moral difficulty appertaining to matters as under a general Providence, he has got an idea the constituents of which are incongruous, and will by no means hang together as members associated in harmony. When you produce a Jew troubled with the great difficulty of the general Providence, you produce a Jew who, as to his spirit, has passed over to the region of complete Gentilism; you give us a Jew outwardly—not a scion of the “*peculiar* people.”

Many things relating to the Bible shew that anxious observance of the Divine decorum, the existence of which we have been endeavouring to impress. Accept, for the present, this one illustration. The Book of Esther has for its scene a heathen empire and court, although the intense action of the particular Providence, as occasionally exerted, is shewn in the interwoven histories of Haman and Mordecai. The salvation of the Jews throughout the Persian empire, as recorded in the Book of Esther, is as fine an example of the working of the special Providence, exerted for the safety of the chosen people, as can anywhere be pointed out. The kernel of the Book of Esther is, therefore, intensely Israelitish. Yet, as the great scene is laid



in the court of a heathen empire, the Divine decorum required that the accompaniment should correspond, and therefore the revealed sacred name never once occurs throughout the book in question. Nay, the point is carried so far that the Deity, by any name whatever, never once appears in all the history. In chapter iv. verse 14 there is a studied avoidance of reference to the Divine Being, where it would have most naturally been introduced, but for the author's reason, grounded in his plan, for abstaining from the use of any name of God, and even of any specific allusion to His existence in any shape.

We conclude, therefore, that the Book of Job could be no product of the pen of a Hebrew during the days of the law. Now, to shew that the book could not have been the offspring of brains busy at any time succeeding the captivity, not many words will be required; not many words, nor many arguments. One good argument will be found to suffice.

Viewed as a literary production, what is the Book of Job? It is unique in literature, sacred or profane.\* It is a peculiar poem, no doubt; but poetry like that of the Book of Job exists not in all literature. It is unapproachable, even by writers in the Bible. As a whole, it stands at the very head of all the poetry which the world has ever seen. I have no intention of entering into details, and seeking to describe, one by one, the excellencies of the wonderful dramatic poem in question. What all mankind have admitted may be safely founded upon, and I need do no more than shortly state that, for freshness of thought, which borrows from none (although it has given to so many), for native grandeur, sublimity, and pathos, it is unexampled. It has sounded the depths of the lowest deeps in human agony, and better than any other author ever did. Better than any other author ever did has it sounded the depths

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\* Kitto, an excellent representative man, who may represent the genial popular theology current among us, has no words by which to express his admiration of the wonderful Book of Job. Like Goliath's sword, *there is none like it.*—*Daily Bible Illustrations, Evening Series, Job, etc.*, page 9. Another popular exponent declares that, "as a specimen of early poetry, and an illustration of the early views of science and the state of the arts, of incomparable beauty and sublimity also, *this book is invaluable.*"—Barnes' *Notes, Critical, Illustrative, and Practical, on the Book of Job (concluding remarks).*

of human agony, from the moment that Job curses his day with that bitter curse which even a Jeremiah could only at a certain distance copy,<sup>f</sup> and which no other author ever dared to imitate without producing either an execrable parody, or a merely loathsome blasphemy against heaven. I say, from Job's initial cursing of the day of his birth until the end of that exhaustive response, running through the gamut of all unutterable woes, wherewith he silences "these three men," his friends, whom the very awfulness of his sufferings had transmuted into his enemies, there is no language nor speech in all the world like unto the sorrowful poetry of Job. Now, only consider what all this implies.

Think of the idea of evoking, from the dry parched wilderness of the modern Israelitish literature, the birth of the grandest poem about human misery which the world will ever see. Here is a nation worn out—a state come to its end—a people dead, and buried too. The great writers all departed, and not a great man remaining to the people except a patriotic succession of warriors drawn from a single family. Here, in fine, are all the elements of national and individual decadence and degradation, and it is proposed to call up from these low circumstances the spirit and powers which could dictate the most noble poem of ancient times—a poem transcending the prodigies of Pagan antiquity, Homer and Virgil; transcending, too, the master-pieces of Christian genius of mediæval and modern days,—the *Inferno* and *Paradiso* of Dante, and the *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained* of our own Milton; that poem which has been, and will for ever be, the common treasure-house from which all other poets, having access to the inexhaustible quarry, have drawn, and shall continue to draw, many of their choicest morsels. The literary world has been made to ring with the achievements of (what is called) the *higher criticism*. But if the conclusions of this higher criticism can comport with the discovery that the Book of Job could by possibility be the product of any generation in the darkling centuries which immediately preceded the resplendent days of the kingdom of heaven on earth (as the deepest darkness

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<sup>f</sup> See Jeremiah xx. 14—18.

goes immediately before the first streak of light ushering in the glories of the perfected day), then the higher criticism is itself, in its highest flights, a very sorry affair after all. Given a bald, prosaic, necessarily commonplace age of literature in a decaying nation: how to call up from such elements a series of phenomena which would demand the highest vigour of first youth—the vehemence and untrammelled ardour of a people's best days? If the higher criticism could bring a Book of Job out of the platitudes of a desiccated iron age, it would deserve that for it the very throne of duncedom should be reserved. Where a bookworm (and German specimens of the tribe are nowise superior to their congeners in Britain), whose effete perception cannot rise above the base, and too often barren region of outside barbarities, your true poet, with his heart of fire, and his eye that can dart to the heavens, his soul drinking in inspiration as it *seems to descend* from above, will always recognize in the Book of Job what could originate in no iron age of literature. The Book of Job might have been written by an antediluvian brother of a true critic of the higher criticism school, as soon as by a debased Jew of a time in the national history, when only a few patriotic warriors appeared as the representatives of the great men of the decadent people.

It follows from all that has been advanced that the book in question must have been the product of the period before the giving of the Law. At what particular point in the ante-Mosaic ages the Book of Job appeared, I am not at present concerned to settle. It suffices for me, that the book was published before the actual mission of Moses.

But still I have little doubt in the matter. Moses spent forty years—the forty years of his middle life—in Midian. Intimations must have been coming over his spirit, ever and anon, of his coming call to stand forth as the deliverer of his people, the descendants of Jacob. Such events, in the world's history, do always cast their shadows before. While meditating, month after month, yea, year after year, in those desert solitudes (to which, or the neighbourhood of which, so many Bible heroes have repaired to prepare themselves, by meditation and study, for their great work), Moses would necessarily often have the

thought come across his mind that a particular call to a special family and their descendants involved the consideration of the common condition of all those who were to remain without the pale within which the revealed message was to circulate. What of the Mizraim of the earth that would remain under the common Providence? What, specially, regarding the lot of the righteous among the wicked? For contemplative and reflective minds, throughout all ages, and among all peoples, there has been a peculiar fascination attached to the question, How shall I reconcile the moral attributes of the Deity with the instances of apparent injustice or unequal dealings in the cases of the most righteous men? And could Moses, one of the most contemplative, and (under Delitzsch's leave) one of the most reflective of men, as he—himself a banished pilgrim—sojourned for forty years in the Midianitic wilderness—could Moses, I say, spend all these years, with his mission drawing ever nearer and nearer (as his spirit must have felt), without asking: I shall go to deliver the Hebrews out of this Egyptian bondage; the righteous people from among the ungodly Gentiles with whom they dwell; but what shall be the lot of righteous men everywhere among nations to whom no Moses shall go? More especially, what am I to think of the sufferings of these and these righteous men? What, for instance, am I to think of the sufferings of this most righteous patriarch—this man of the land of Uz,<sup>g</sup> of whom I have heard so much, both by word of mouth, and in writing? Here was the beginning of the Book of Job.

Besides, the Bible could not be complete without a Book of Job.<sup>h</sup> A particular Providence must start from the basis of an

<sup>g</sup> Our popular writer, Dr. Kitto, has made a curious blunder. In his reading on "The land of Uz," he appears to be unaware that there were two Hebrew words which are denoted by the same word in the English of our translators. The "In the land of Uz" of Job i. 1, is in Hebrew *עֵזְרָא*; whereas the "Uz," to be perceived rudimentally in Job xxxii. 2, is represented by *נ*, a very different term. And the original terms in these places, as well as other places, seem to be confounded by our author. No one perusing his pleasant paper, and not going beyond it, would know that there are two ways in Hebrew of denoting *Uz*. But so pleasing a writer should be excused for occasional incorrectnesses.

<sup>h</sup> Even a non-German author could see that the Book of Job was a necessity of the case. The Bible would have been incomplete without it, and its proper

antecedent general Providence, and if there were no Book of Job among the sacred writers there would be a want of foundation-material. One of the most singular characteristics of the Bible is its completeness; the perfect harmony prevailing throughout the series, which must have a beginning, a middle, an end. There is a whole, and a whole must be made up of proportional parts. But without a book confined to the things of the domain of natural religion, an essential part, in order to completeness, and so to harmony, would be quite wanting.

The Book of Genesis, no doubt, treats of times anterior to the Law; but, at the same time, nothing strikes us more about the Book of Genesis than this, that it is a fit preparation for the tetrateuch, or books relating to the institution and mode of working of the particular Providence. But in Job we have nothing of the Law. Even writers with microscopic eyes have not been able to discover to a certainty the slightest trace in Job of an allusion to the things of the Law given by Moses.<sup>i</sup> In short, the Book of Job, as treating of the grandest and the most difficult question in theism, was a necessary constituent among the Bible material.

When one views Job as a production of post-captivity days, it is, considering its subject matter, simply a monstrous excrescence in the Bible. It could be no branch proceeding in the way of nature and order from the stem, because the stem is a plant of one kind, and the branch would be a shoot belonging to a tree of a totally different kind. It could be nought but an unwholesome excrescence occupying a site somewhere upon the plant, but only to destroy its health and its harmony. This circumstance alone appears to be quite sufficient to enable us to determine that Job could not have taken its place in the canon as a post-captivity writing. The book could not have

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place, in order, is at the commencement. "The theologian should study it (the Book of Job) as an *invaluable* INTRODUCTION to the volume of inspired truth."—Rev. Albert Barnes' *Notes on Job* (concluding remarks).

<sup>i</sup> Delitzsch, who makes Job to be a production of Solomon's time, acknowledges yet: "The Thora from Sinai and prophecy, the history and worship of Israel, are nowhere introduced; even indirect references to them nowhere escape him" (i. e., the author of the book). (*Introduction to his Commentary*).

been a production of the times of the Law. Therefore it must have made its appearance before the era of Moses' mission.

I promised, and I have adduced, a good argument to evince that the Book of Job was produced before the giving of the Law. I have shewn, also, that such a book was absolutely requisite, its orderly place being the commencement of Bible writings. The reasons advanced being united, their force is overwhelming. The Book of Job, with its natural religion discussions, is to be regarded as that foundation book on which all the other books of the Bible are superstructed.

*The Problem and the Solution.*—Those who say that a solution of the problem discussed in Job is to be met with in the book, maintain that the solution is found in the speech of Elihu, or in that of the Lord following, or in both these together. Hardly any one has ever contended that the solution—so far as there is a solution—is to be perceived in the speeches of Jehovah, taken by themselves (although this view is the very one to be by me advocated). The general opinion of those who see a solution in the book is, that we must go to the sentences of Elihu for the solution we want. To say, indeed, that it requires the Lord's speeches to supplement Elihu's, is really to allow that from Elihu we obtain no sufficient solution. This is (I believe) quite true. But I go farther, and say that from Elihu we have a solution neither wholly nor partly. If we have not an adequate solution, neither have we the foundation of one.

What part, then, does Elihu really play? Very eminent commentators think that Elihu gives the true solution of the vast and difficult problem.<sup>j</sup>

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<sup>j</sup> As learned a writer and profound a thinker as Hengstenberg, and as pleasant an essayist as the genial Kitto, are to be found on the side of the admirers of Elihu as a vindicator of the ways of God. See Hengstenberg's *Lecture upon the Book of Job*, and articles in Kitto's *Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature*. In the lecture specified, Hengstenberg declares that the portion of the book occupied by Elihu's speeches is "the very heart and life of the book;" and by various considerations he seeks to justify his opinion. In Kitto's justly admired *Daily Bible Illustrations, Evening Series*, and volume on *Job and the Poetical Books*, the same view as Hengstenberg's is supported. Our author advances, "that Elihu is right in his condemnation of Job, as well as of the three friends, and is also right in the solution which he himself produces."

Others think that Elihu was a vain, empty prater, indulging in words without knowledge, and darkening counsel by them,<sup>\*</sup> (Job xxxviii. 2). The author agrees with expositors of this way of thinking.

What solution does Elihu give? In what words does he enshrine his solution? What is the sum and substance of his doctrine, which is to be held as amounting to a solution, and in what verses may we behold it?

Besides, if Elihu (who speaks through chapters xxxii.—xxxvii.), gave a solution of the moral problem, how, consistently, could Jehovah be represented as speaking afterwards as He is made to speak in chapters xxxviii., etc.? If a solution there be at all of a great difficulty in theism, surely it must be looked for in those places where the Supreme Judge of all controversies is brought in as an interlocutor. This great Being is really introduced as that solution-bringer against whom no opposition in argument can be. (See specially xl. 3, *et seq.*, and xlii. 1, *et seq.*) The whole tenor from the first verse of chapter xxxviii. to the sixth verse of chapter xlii. (and even subsequent verses might be added), shews that the Lord represents the tribunal from which there is no appeal, and whose decision must be held as altogether right.

But can there not be supposed a transition from Elihu to Jehovah? Cannot it be imagined that the speeches are cor-relatives: Elihu lays the foundation, and the address of the Lord forms the superstructure?

Such a hypothesis would really, and indeed obviously, imply that Jehovah's speech was simply supplementary to that of Elihu; the one is the climax, in a word, of the other. The hypothesis involves, at the very least, that there is no inconsistency in spirit between the matter of the speakers. Unfortunately, however, for the hypothesis, there is inconsistency; complete want of congruity between the two things exists. There is a fundamental discrepancy.

I say, then, that if Elihu's address solves, or goes any way to solve, the immense moral difficulty which had been the subject

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<sup>\*</sup> Warburton (if I remember rightly) is enlisted among the despisers of Elihu. See *Div. Leg.*

of debate between the three friends and the sufferer, then the Lord's speech cannot be held to solve, or go any way towards the solution of the problem; neither as climax, nor supplement of any kind, can Jehovah's speech be possibly regarded. The reason is convincing; the two things are quite inconsistent with each other. One consideration alone will evince the radical incompatibility. Elihu, in the peroration of his oration while summing up, alleges—"Touching the Almighty (אֱלֹהִים), we cannot find him out: he is excellent in power, and in judgment, and in PLENTY OF JUSTICE: he will not afflict" (*i. e.* unrighteously). Now, no analyzer of the matter of the address of Jehovah has ever pretended to discover the slightest reference to the attribute of justice therein. (The reason for which will be clearly seen by and by.) Thus, the one speech professes to be built, partly built, at least, on a consideration of the Divine justice; the other dispenses entirely with any such reference.<sup>1</sup> The two things are, therefore, radically different. There is a fundamental incongruity.

There is, perhaps, no need to notice another possible supposition—possible as a supposition, more than a supposition of a possibility; the supposition, to wit, of two distinct solutions. Two solutions mutually destructive would involve a downright absurdity. The solutions could, therefore, be only, though not incongruous, distinct. Distinct, and consecutive, yet not inconsistent; each being sufficient by itself.

Such a supposition would run counter, possibly, to what has been established above, as to the discrepance between the two

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<sup>1</sup> On an analysis of the chapters which contain the speech, or speeches, of Jehovah, namely, chapters xxxviii., xxxix., xl., xli., it appears that there are many, very many, references to the power, very many references to the omniscience, many references to the wisdom of the Deity; there are several references, but the number of instances is much less, to the wisdom and power in combination. There are about as many references to the wisdom and practical goodness (as we may phrase it) in union. One has counted upwards of a score of the illustrations of power; about the same number of illustrations of omniscience; the number of illustrations of wisdom counted was by about a fourth or a fifth less. There were several cases of wisdom and power combined; and wisdom and goodness united had at least twelve illustrative instances. But there is not one allusion, even of the faintest kind, to the justice of God. And indeed there could not be, as we shall elsewhere see abundantly shewn.



speeches. But waiving the consideration adverted to, the supposition of two distinct solutions, each sufficient in itself, they being too consecutive, would involve that here we have a case where the second solution would be less a solution than its predecessor. In place of a climax, there would be an anti-climax. For it cannot be denied (whatever else be denied), that on the face of the thing the latter oration seems to contain less of a solution of the great moral problem debated, than the former of the two orations.

But, in truth, and as we have advanced already, Elihu solves nothing. It is abundantly plain that he imagines he does solve everything requiring solution. But this is only his idea, and very far from the truth it is.

It may well be wondered that one thing has never been perceived. If there had been given in Elihu a visible solution of the immense moral problem, then the solution would have been appealed to in all subsequent ages. But whoever appealed to the solution in Elihu as a solution of one of the greatest, if not the greatest, moral difficulty in theism? There have been writers who have laboured hard to see a solution at all in that quarter; while others, as clear-sighted, could perceive nothing better than vain babbling; at the best, commonplace observations, and very platitudes. But who, tried in the furnace of Job-like sufferings, ever thought of deriving comfort from reflection on the dreary commonplaces of Elihu?

The truth is, commentators and critics, thinking there must be a solution in Job, and not being able to find a solution elsewhere, were driven to find it in Elihu. Yet it is only in a very qualified sense that there is any solution at all in the whole book. (What, if the great lesson taught be not rather the impossibility of a solution of the general question; or the necessary inscrutableness of the ways of God? We shall see.) From the nature of the thing, there can be no proper or full solution of the general problem concerning the sufferings of the righteous, because each case is peculiar. In Job's case (as elsewhere in the Bible), we are, to a great extent, admitted behind the curtain, and thus we are prepared to understand *why Job suffered*.<sup>m</sup> Not being,

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<sup>m</sup> The real question of the Book of Job is, Why does *this* righteous man (Job) thus suffer? Job himself asks, Why does he, being righteous, suffer so? The

however, cognizant of the specialities, we cannot tell why do these other righteous persons suffer thus and thus. To the general problem, the only possible answer is a general, wide, or vague one. And such an answer is afforded in the book in question, in or from the speeches of Jehovah.

But there remains to be noticed a decisive argument, and, what is more, an entirely new argument, against the supposition of a solution of the moral problem being to be found in Elihu. That is, the argument is quite decisive, if it be good for aught.

Chapter xxxviii.—“Then the LORD answered Job out of the whirlwind, and said, (2) Who *is* this that darkeneth counsel by words without knowledge? (3) Gird up now thy loins like a man; for I will demand of thee, and answer thou me.”

I suppose the words of verse 2 are intended for Elihu; while the words of verse 3 are directed to Job, and apply to him. If the words of the second verse be really intended for Elihu, no solution can, of course, be looked for from him. He is put aside as a vain babbler. The proof that the words in question do really belong to him consists of these points:—

1. Those words seem to describe admirably the matter and style of Elihu's oration. “Darkeneth counsel,” will do for the *matter*: “Words without knowledge,” will quadrate with the *style*.

2. The words cannot apply to Job. They do not at all tally with his speeches; and they are grossly inconsistent with the testimony elsewhere born to him by the same august speaker. See xlii. verses 7 and 8.

3. Job, taking guilt to himself, describes the quality of his rebellion against heaven in such terms as these:—“Who *is* he [or, this: it is  $\text{אִי}$ , in both places] that hideth counsel without knowledge? therefore have I uttered that I understood not; things too wonderful for me, which I knew not,” (xlii. 3.) Now, these words—*hideth counsel without knowledge*—discriminate

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three friends say, This man suffering so, he cannot be righteous. But the particular question is often allowed by Job to run into, and be confounded with, the general question, Why do righteous men suffer? As for the three, their thesis admits not of such a question at all. They declare a divorce between suffering and righteousness.

nicely his case from that in chap. xxxviii. 2. The latter place describes a prater : the other place describes an erring reasoner, and mistaken man ; but certainly no babbler.

Elihu, then, solves nothing. As the plan required, Jehovah gives the true solution. That is, Jehovah gives the solution so far as there is a solution at all ; and how far that is, we shall very soon see. This brings us to the consideration of the nature of the argumentation advanced in Jehovah's speeches as they occur in chapter xxxviii. and the following chapters.

The argument is of this nature:—Jehovah is infinite\* in power, and in knowledge, and in wisdom. The second verse of the forty-second chapter contains a summary, from Job's lips, of what runs through the Lord's speeches in the five preceding chapters. I know, declares Job, that "thou canst do everything." Here the *omnipotence* is referred to. I know, that "no thought can be withholden from thee:" the *omniscience* is specifically referred to in these words. The moral attributes of justice and righteousness, nevertheless, are not touched on. Purposely, all patent reference is avoided : the moral attributes being the things about which the question is raised ; they cannot, therefore, be introduced, illustratively, as the power, omniscience, etc., are introduced. The whole of the chapters in question are occupied with illustrations of the power, the omniscience, and, to some extent, the wisdom and practical goodness of Jehovah, as is evident on even a very cursory examination.

Then, if Jehovah be of infinitude in power, of omniscience, etc., it follows that he is of infinitude in all other qualities.<sup>o</sup> A God, infinite in one attribute, or two or more attributes, must, for that reason, be infinite in all other attributes.<sup>p</sup> If Jehovah be infinite as to the intellectual attributes (and all the sections of the speech illustrate the fact in detail and at length), then Jehovah must be infinite in the moral attributes also.<sup>q</sup> His infinitude in the former, which is proved, involves His infinitude in the latter—the point regarding which the question is. In fact, the argument purposely stops short at a given point. So

\* This word is employed in its popular (and incorrect) meaning. See *The Necessary Existence of God*.

<sup>o</sup> See *The Necessary Existence of God*.

<sup>p</sup> Vide *ibid*.

<sup>q</sup> Vide *ibid*.

much is patent, and is held as proved : so much is secret, and is indirectly to be established. Obvious illustrations of the patent attributes are dwelt upon, in order that the existence of the yet secret attributes may be proved. Something is assumed, and what is assumed is evident. The assumptions in the foreground are to pave the way for the appearance of the provable properties in the background.

Stated syllogistically, the thing would take some such form as the following :—

Given the intellectual attributes of omnipotence and omniscience, the existence of the moral attributes of righteousness and justice, as well as goodness, is a necessary consequence.

But, the existence of those intellectual attributes must be allowed. (For, plentiful illustrations, involving that existence, are furnished.')

Therefore, the existence of the moral attributes is necessarily to be conceded.

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' The hopeless confusion of ideas into which the minds of the most eminent critics have been thrown by some of the illustrations in the Lord's speeches, is plain enough from the pages of one of the latest and learnedest of the German commentators. I go the length of saying, that the perplexity of the learned men has an element of the ludicrous in it. In the face of the description of the hippopotamus and the crocodile, what a comical perplexity the learned Delitzsch is in ! "If," advances this commentator, "the second speech of Jehovah no longer has to do with the exaltation and power of God in general, but is intended to answer Job's doubt concerning the justice of the Divine government of the world, *the long passage* about the hippopotamus and the crocodile, ch. xl. 15—xli. 26, [34,] in this second speech *seems to be devoid of purpose and connection.*" Then follows an array of the opinions of the most gifted critics among his countrymen, interspersed with remarks by the author himself. And the learned commentator sums up his reference to "the long passage" in this way : "What is the design of the description of the two Egyptian monsters ? . . . To shew Job how little capable he is of governing the world, and how little he would be in a position to execute judgment on the evil-doer, two creatures are described to him, two unslain monsters, of gigantic structure and invincible strength, which defy all human attack. These two descriptions are, we think, designed to teach Job how little capable of passing sentence upon the evil-doer he is, who cannot even draw a cord through the nose of the behemoth, and who, if he once attempted to attack the leviathan, would have reason to remember it so long as he lived, and would henceforth let it alone." (Vol. ii., pp. 382-4.) Was ever the inspection of monstrous wild animals turned to such a use before ? Negroes think nothing of fighting crocodiles when only slenderly armed. And as for the

Yet of the parts of this completed act of reasoning only the minor premiss—or, rather, the materials for the minor premiss—are presented. The four or five chapters comprising the speech of Jehovah are filled with the material, in the shape of most apt and vivid illustrations, taken from nature, sublunary and sidereal, of the attributes in question. The major premiss does not at all appear, although it is implied. The conclusion is, of course, entirely wanting. In fine, the minor premiss alone is given.

The minor premiss being given, the argument suddenly stops short. To the reflective and meditative mind it is left to supply the major premiss of the syllogism; and, with it, the conclusion which is bound up with it, being involved in it.

Let us approach the conclusion of the whole matter. The nature of the application of the argument in Job's case is this: All parties concede the existence of intellectual attributes; these involve the moral attributes—especially the attribute of justice. Therefore, Jehovah is perfectly just and righteous even in afflicting Job, although the connection between the hidden justice and the obvious sufferings may by no means be apparent. Such is the solution of the problem how to account for Job's peculiar sufferings. Job was unquestionably "perfect and upright" (i. 1), and the ultimate testimony is that Job, Jehovah's servant, had spoken right (xlii. 7); and yet Job suffered in a wonderfully afflictive manner. Why? How reconcile righteous Job's tremendous afflictions with the justice of Jehovah? The answer is: Jehovah, even in afflicting Job, must be acting justly and most righteously. Jehovah cannot do otherwise: aught else were plainly impossible. The force of the *à priori* argument, from the attributes allowed to the attributes questioned, is evident.

Such the nature of the argumentation; such the solution brought out in the debate continued through the whole speeches.

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other monster, the hippopotamus,—let us say, the hippopotamus which I saw in the Zoological Gardens of London, and which was so fond of eating biscuits after being soaked in the dirty water the animal disported in. Why, I, who may represent myriads of respectable visitors, am ashamed to tell I left the tank without a ray of light having been thrown on any general, sublime, and highly-important subject. I was not furnished (God pity me!) with a better *theodicy*. But what cannot the higher (German) criticism effect?

But there is yet another solution, the solution recorded in the history.

What was the purpose or end had in view by the Sovereign Judge of right and wrong, the "one Lawgiver, who is able to save and to destroy?" (James iv. 12.) "The Lord gave Job twice as much as he had before" (Job xlii. 10); and "the Lord blessed the latter end of Job more than the beginning" (verse 12). Ye "have seen," says the New Testament commentator, "the end of the Lord" (James v. 11).

Because, after all, the problem of the book does not concern certain abstract human sufferings as connected with the (hidden) moral attributes. But the question concerns the sufferings which endured for a certain time, in order that they might be terminated, and give place to a more prosperous and blessed condition than existed previously.

Hence, the problem as discussed in the speeches, taken by themselves (the Lord's speech handles the topic of the solution of the question debated in the speeches of the controversy); and the problem of the whole book—that is, the whole speeches *plus* the history preceding, and the history succeeding them, are very different. So much so, that if one has always in view the concluding historical portion, the greatest moral difficulty of the whole problem is wanting. The distinction, though almost always overlooked, should be carefully kept in mind. In other words, the purely dramatic part handles one great problem. The whole book handles, and solves too, another great problem. Why does this righteous man suffer so? is the problem in the first case. The problem, or rather the theorem, of the other case is: You see by this history that if a peculiarly righteous man suffers peculiarly, the end of the Lord is that the righteous man may be more blessed still. The history, as a whole, shews that "the Lord is very pitiful, and of tender mercy." (James v. 11).

The great practical lesson of the poem, or the dramatical portion, is resignation. Not resignation to the actings of a God hidden in complete incomprehensibility, and represented as being without determined attributes as the ground of the outbirths of His administration. Such resignation would amount

to little more than stupid despair; and a great author is sure that the doctrine of utter incomprehensibility lies on one of the high roads to Atheism.\* But the resignation advocated is consonant with meek submission, and contentedness under every phase of the administration of One who must be just and righteous in all His ways; who must be just and righteous with regard to me in my sorest adversity, whether I can reconcile His attributes of goodness and righteousness and my dire sufferings or no. Perhaps the doctrine now laid down is not far removed from what may be called the old-fashioned doctrine, and the very general one regarding the aspect of the discussion in the book.

The great practical lesson of the book itself of Job—that is, adding the historical portion to the purely poetical—is, however, quite a different lesson from the former one. *That* was assured resignation, or sweet submission: *this* is the propriety of joyful hope in a *certain* deliverance, as soon as ever the end of the Lord in causing the afflictions has been subserved. In other words, and as the New Testament comment declares, the doctrine to be drawn from the whole book is, that, with regard to the sufferings of the righteous—including the very sorest affliction of the most perfect man, or, to vary the phraseology, the man capable of enduring, and being benefited by the very heaviest afflictions—a joyful end shall be reached when the suffering has effected its purifying and elevating purpose. It is new to distinguish the lesson of the drama from the lesson of the whole book; but it is proper to do so, since the lessons are so very different. In the one case, we argue, from an incomplete action, to what *must be* the result. In the other case, we have the absolute result, itself, in view, and we have only to construct a whole in which the parts shall be in harmony.

*Epilogue.*—It can by no means be concealed that a certain objection may at once be taken to the view adopted above, that

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\* "Examining the matter superficially, one can see no possibility of a satisfactory solution of the riddle, and may easily fall into the notion that there is nothing for it but to refer all to the incomprehensibility of God's ways; a course which conducts to ATHEISM."—*Lecture on the Book of Job*, p. 328; see also pp. 314, 327.

Moses was the editor-author of the Book of Job, in that he published it before the commencement of his specific mission to Pharaoh in behalf of his Hebrew countrymen. The objection referred to is even a weighty one, and it is so little recondite, that our famous Colenso, and all Rationalists belonging to the same school, have adopted the rudiments of the objection as an argument to be always made to take its place in the very front of their battle-line. I shall state the objection in question in the words of a friendly critic, who has favoured me with some remarks upon my performance of (it must be owned) too highly complimentary a character.

“Whilst reading the first part of your article, it occurred to me” (writes my correspondent) “that possibly some one, not carefully considering the subject, might be disposed to bring up an objection to the important issue, that the Book of Job was published by Moses before he was specially commissioned, from what is stated in Exodus vi. 3, etc. If ‘*Jehovah*,’ it may be said, was the revealed name of God—a name unknown till Moses was expressly commissioned—the occurrence of this name in the historical department of the Book of Job implies the publishing of the book after that name was revealed, and not before. A thoughtful study of the point, no doubt, might remove the objection, but many rush at once to conclusions without looking at an argument in all its bearings.”

This objection (so fairly stated) lies equally against the use of the term *Jehovah* in the Book of Genesis, and, especially, in the early portions thereof. All English readers, anxious to see this difficulty—originating, of course, with German critics—set out in all its force, and with the pomp of circumstance, have only to betake themselves to the volumes so industriously produced by the diligent Bishop of Natal. I shall take it for granted that the strength of the objection, whether directed against the Mosaic-authorship of Genesis, or against the Mosaic-authorship of the historical portion of Job, is present to my reader’s mind.

Turn we now to the words of the passage in Exodus: “And God spake unto Moses, and said unto him, I *am* the LORD; and I appeared unto Abraham, unto Isaac, and unto Jacob, by *the*



*name of God Almighty, but by my name JEHOVAH was I not known to them.*”—Exodus vi. 2 and 3.

My answer to the objection, or my solution of the difficulty, is, if not quite identical with, substantially the same as Hengstenberg's, as applicable to the case of the Book of Genesis. God appeared unto Abraham, etc., as “God Almighty” (*El Shaddai*), but by His name “*Jehovah*” was He not known to those patriarchs. Observe, in the first place, the carefully put antithesis between *the appearing*, and *the being known*. God declares, I *appeared* unto Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, but I *was not known* to them. The verb which is employed to denote *appearance* is one which represents perception of the most general character. It is the very verb which occurs so frequently in Genesis i. in the formula, “God *saw* that it was good.” The other verb is, on the other hand, one of a very different class as to intensity of perception. *יָדַע* denotes *intimate knowledge*. For instance, it occurs in Genesis iv. 1, where, we are told, “Adam *knew* Eve, his wife:” where, consequently, the knowledge must be understood to be of the most intimate description.

Again: God might be long called (and He was, in fact, long called) “*Jehovah*,” without the fulness of the meaning which lay in that name, as the revealed sacred name, denoting the relation in which He stood to Israel, being at all known.

Even in our day many say, Lord, Lord (as many will say “in that day,” Matt. vii. 22), who yet know not the true meaning of the word. Some persons never rise above the spiritual region of *El Shaddai*, into that of the JEHOVAH of Revelation. I know individuals who never speak of the Deity but as *God Almighty*; and the persons are quite unconscious how the terms, uttered orally, correspond with the real state of the spirit within. The same sort of thing may be observed among the various sects and parties around us; *ex. gr.*, the followers of Count Zinzendorf were fulsome adulators of the suffering fleshly characteristics (as they esteemed them) of our blessed Lord; and see how words, in complete correspondence, run through the Moravian hymnology.

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W. G.

## THE SITE AND RIVERS OF EDEN.

BY ORIENTALIST.

GEN. ii. 10—14. “*A stream issues in Eden, to water the garden, and thence it is divided into four sources. The name of the first is Pishon; it surrounds all that land of Khavilah, where there is the gold; and the gold of that land is good; there is the bedolakh and the stone of shoham. And the name of the second stream is Gikhon; it surrounds all that land of Kush. And the name of the third stream is the Tigris; it flows east of Ashur. And the fourth stream is Phrát.*” The word נָהָר *nahar*, is variously rendered in the English version *river, flood, stream*, etc. Its root means to *flow*; and it thus appropriately expresses any current of water, great or small. It is applied to the branch of the Arabian Gulf through which the Israelites were led. It is emphatically and often applied to the Euphrates; but in most of these cases the proper name *Phrát* (=Euphrates) is added. Sometimes it is qualified by the epithets “*great, broad,*” etc. But without such qualifications it is used where a great body of flowing water cannot be meant, as when Job applies it to brooks (vi. 15); and the Psalmist (Ps. xlv. 5) to the brook Kedron. In this sense the stream of Eden must be understood. But if so, how is it applied in the passage to the Euphrates and Tigris, which are noble rivers? These appear as great rivers where they come most into notice in Bible reading,—in their flow through the Chaldean territory. And interpreters have most inconsiderately looked in these quarters for the land of Eden, and its garden or paradise. But is it not extraordinary that the *rise* of a river in a garden should have been taken to mean the whole course of that river? As well might a geographer, on reading that the Rhine rises in the Alps, seek for those mountains on the map of the Low countries; or for the American Rocky Mountains in Louisiana; or for the Himálayas in Sindh. Into the endless dreams about the site of the garden I mean not to enter; nor could I, without having recourse to many volumes, trust my memory to state them all. But two facts I take to be conclusively established.

1. The commonly supposed site, at or below the confluence of the Euphrates and Tigris, is *alluvial land, of post-Adamic formation*; it belongs to what is geologically called the recent

or post-pleistocene formation. Rawlinson\* thus describes the territory: "Traces of post-tertiary deposits have been found as far up the country as Tel Edi, and Hammam, or more than 200 miles from the embouchure of the Shat el Arab." This extends far above the junction of the Euphrates and Tigris, thus entirely precluding the possibility of that as the position of Paradise. Nor is this the whole extent of the delta; for he also says: "From the edge of the alluvium, a little below Hit, to the present coast of the Persian Gulf, at the mouth of the Shat el Arab, is a distance of above 430 miles." Hence the site of the garden cannot be identified with any part of Chaldea; for all that region was sea until the land was formed like that in Egypt, Sindh, Louisiana, Holland, Bengal, etc., by the gradual deposition of mud brought down by the rivers.

2. *The Paradise was situated on a very elevated position.* It is easy to shew that this is no new idea, but one very ancient, though often lost sight of. It is rather implied than distinctly and largely stated in various critical works. Thus, in Fairbairn's *Imperial Dictionary of the Bible*, it is said: "The four rivers had their *origin* in the garden." Now of these the two that are known had their origin on an Armenian mountain; nor can any river have its origin otherwise than in a high region. The same is implied in Kitto's *Biblical Encyclopædia* (Paradise, paragraph 3). And if I cite Milton in his *Paradise Lost*, it is not for the purpose of resting on what may be thought mere poetic description, but because it would be unreasonable to overlook the opinion of so accurate a geographer of his day, as every part of that poem proves him to have been. Thus he makes the angel describe Paradise to Adam:—

"First father! called by thee, I come, thy guide,  
To the garden of bliss, thy seat prepared,  
A woody mountain, whose high top was plain." (Book vii.)

Again, he speaks of "Tigris at the foot of Paradise" (Book ix.), which implies that the river rolled down from a lofty eminence. Again, in Book xi., he represents a part of the garden—"Where entrance up from Eden easiest winds:" that is, from the land of Eden. Also in Book xi. he makes Adam say of the theo-

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\* *Five Great Empires*, vol. i., p. 5.

phany of the Divine presence: "On this mount he appeared;" and makes Adam also contrast Eden as "this rock," with "all the earth;" and "its pre-eminence" with "the even ground below." He makes Raphael accompany Adam "to a hill of Paradise the highest." And in the end he describes the expulsion from the garden, as "down the cliff to the subjected plain." Thus Milton's idea of Paradise is very obvious.

I attach no weight to the notion of seven heavens, not confined to Rabbis, nor to that of Mohammadans, that Paradise was not located on the earth. R. Eliezer says:<sup>b</sup> "Septem condita sunt antequam creatus erat mundus." "Seven things were created before the world;" and one of these was "Paradise." But the words of Mohammad in the Quran (ii. 34) do not sustain the interpretation which his followers put on them. He does not assign to Paradise a super-terrestrial position, but only a mountainous. He represents God as saying to Adam and Eve, *وقلنا اهبطوا... في الارض وستقر*, "And we said, Get you down, there shall be a dwelling-place for you in the land." This, however, shews the origin of the idea of a celestial Paradise so frequently developed by commentators on the Quran. On either view, a lofty position is assigned to it.

But what especially concerns us is this: do the Scriptures throw any light on the situation of Paradise,—not its latitude and longitude, but its elevation? They do. The passage before us ascribes to it the rise of a stream, and that stream the source of a great river,—a circumstance impossible if its position had not been on a mountain or table-land. But, besides, there are many direct and indirect allusions and metaphors drawn from it, all of them implying the idea of its lofty position. Moses saw the vision of the burning bush, of similar emblematic import with the tree of life, on *Mount Horeb*. Elijah received his last prophetic mission on Horeb. Ezekiel<sup>c</sup> (viii. 3, ix. 4) saw the vision of the Kerubim (a name associated with Eden) on *Mount Zion*. Paul was caught *up to Paradise*. In Rev. xxi. 10, the New Jerusalem is depicted as situated on "a great and high mountain," which is identified with Paradise; for from under

<sup>b</sup> Pirke, p. 3, Lat. Trans.

<sup>c</sup> Many chapters of Ezekiel were obviously written before the captivity.

the throne of God, on its summit, wells out the river of the water of life, as the stream had its source in the typical Paradise; and on its banks, as in the typical Eden, grows the tree of life. Ezekiel (xxviii. 13) uses very remarkable language regarding the King of Tyre, in reference to his assumption of almost superhuman dignity. "Thou hast been in Eden, the garden of God; I have set thee on the holy mount." This is too obvious to require comment. Ezekiel evidently drew his metaphor from Eden, and knew that its site was a mountain.<sup>d</sup>

Consider now the statement of the passage in question: "a stream in Eden to water the garden;" and contrast it with the opinion often advanced as unquestionable, that four rivers, and these great ones, and near their mouth, flowed *out* of the garden. This has no accordance with the inspired words. The text does not say a "great river," nor does it speak of rivers in the garden; but uses a word in the singular, which denotes any flow of water down to the smallest rill, as the brook Kedron, and as Job (xiv. 11) speaks of "the flood (the same word *nahar*) decaying and drying up," which occurs every year in the dry season, with thousands of the smaller streams, called in India *nalá*. And though Euphrates is a great river, yet every great river is a small rill in its source; and the source is the thing expressly spoken of here. The river issues; the spring gushes out. Four heads are also spoken of; but the text does not state whether or not they are additional to the first. One stream watered the garden; so far the meaning is express. But does it not say, thence that stream was parted into four? By no means. The words are: "Thence (it) was parted." The obvious antecedent of the pronoun "it" is not "river," but "Eden." Thence, viz., beyond the garden, Eden was broken, or parted by ridges of hills, and spurs of the mountain, into four heads, or as they are termed in physical geography, "watersheds,"—slopes and valleys carrying off the water of the tableland by different streams. Now, whether or not these four streams were exclusive of the one that rose in the garden, by

<sup>d</sup> Had the clear-minded Edwards seen this, he could hardly have applied the passage to Satan.

<sup>e</sup> The prep. is *to me*, often meaning *in* (see Noldius), and not to be confounded with *to min*.

consulting any good map of the region in which the Euphrates and Tigris originate, we shall find even in the present state of the land an agreement with the description in the text, while we must remember there can be no certainty how far the deluge, or some upheaval or subsidence before or after it, may have altered the watersheds and streams as to number and position.

The names of the other two streams do not appear to have been preserved in the geography of the region, as they are in the text; and various have been the theories regarding them, all based on the two erroneous assumptions that we are to look for great rivers, and in low lands. Josephus finds them in the Nile and the Ganges. This, I think, does not fully satisfy even those who pay some respect to it; for while the land of Eden, in which the garden was, may have been a considerable region, it is very unnatural to view it as stretching from Bengal to Abyssinia, over the Persian and Arabian Gulfs. And just as unsatisfying is the attempted identification of them with the Indus, which washes India, and the Oxus, which flows through Bokhara to the Sea of Aral. All such theories are suicidal, in supposing one river divided into four,<sup>f</sup> and then making the contradictory supposition of there being rivers far asunder and totally unconnected. One of the heads of the Tigris rises not far from Lake Van; and Layard supposes that it actually flows subterraneously from that lake, or that the lake feeds its spring. In maps of Rawlinson, and the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, besides the head of the Tigris proper, two streams spring from the south side of Mount Niphates—the snowy mountain; and there is a third called Seit, which rises east of Lake Van, but joins the other three, near their confluence, while a main source of the Euphrates is on the northern slope of the same mountain.

Here then, more probably than in any other position, we find the streams of Eden; and with a like probability this mountain may be regarded as the site of the garden; and all the plateau, including Ararat and many miles around the mountain, may be the land of Eden. If we do not reckon *Seit*, the first of the streams is *Bittés*, which might correspond to Pishon, if it

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<sup>f</sup> *Rosh* never means river; and can here only be the table-land giving origin to the streams.

could be found to be an ancient name. The second is called *Myafarekin*, but there is a town called *Khai*, which might have originated in the name *Gikhon*; but these etymologies are not to be pressed; for the names of Pishon and Gikhon may possibly not have been preserved at all. The third in order is the *Tigris*, which, in the words of Rawlinson, "goes eastward to Assyria," according to the inspired text, margin. The fourth is the *Euphrates*. Now all these rise in the ridge of Niphates, extending from about the source of the Tigris to the vicinity of Lake Van.

The only difficulty is in the names of the territories. *Khavilah* may perhaps be connected with *Khai*, and extending from Pishon to Gikhon. Kush, in post-diluvian times, gave his name to regions in Arabia and Abyssinia; but before the confusion of tongues this "father of Nimrud" may have given his name to this mountain, which the Arabs call "Jebel Nimrud," or Nimrod's mountain. Assyria got its name from Ashur. These two names are both post-diluvian; while the names of the districts forming the watersheds of Mount Niphates were primitive. But before the confusion of tongues the names of Kush and Ashur may have been given from the occupancy of these districts by some of the tribes of Kush<sup>s</sup> and Ashur,<sup>h</sup> in substitution for the primitive ones no longer vernacular; or there may have been a Kush and an Ashur among the sons of Adam, who may have originated these two names.

If it be thought a difficulty to suppose the Paradise on a snowy mountain, I reply, the present climate is no evidence that it was so in antediluvian times. I think it was quite otherwise; but to establish this would demand a separate paper.

<sup>s</sup> Fürst says, *Kush* means "Ethiop or black," If so, it was probably an original name of the Cainites, for it may be rendered obvious that such complexion belonged to the mark given to Cain. A portion of these may have given name to the district; and from them Kush, the son of Ham, may have got his name. If the wife of Ham was a Cainite it would account for this, and for the curse resting on Canaan, the son of Ham.

<sup>h</sup> *Ashur* means "prosperous." It may have been a tribe sprung from a son of Adam, and may have peopled the region on the banks of the Tigris, whence the name may have been given to the son of Shem.

### THE QUOTATIONS OF SCRIPTURE.

**SUPERFICIAL** thinkers are often ready to imagine a certain mode of doing something, and then to judge of correctness or incorrectness by the adherence to this method. They ought first to be certain that their rule is the true rule, or the only one. There may be another as true, and, under certain circumstances, more suitable.

It is not uncommon to entertain a very loose idea of the law of quotation, whether made in speech or in writing. Many suppose it ought to be word for word. Tried by this rule, Scripture quotation will very often be exceedingly inaccurate; for, whether compared with the original Hebrew, or the Septuagint version, the quotations from the Old Testament in the New frequently depart from both in their expression. But such an idea of quotation is only just when viewed in a particular light, and made for a particular object. In its use of its own older writings, Scripture departs freely, frequently, and plainly from the above rule: neither is it a rule adhered to, when circumstances require a departure from it, by the best ordinary writers.

The true idea of quotation is, in fact, much freer and bolder than the above contracted view of it. And, moreover, its scope is wider, bolder, and freer in the exact proportion in which the original writer is understood. One who feels doubtful whether he understands a passage or not will not venture to take any liberties with it. He will transcribe it word for word. He will feel that any alteration he might make may give to it a meaning never intended. One who feels conscious that he has mastered the sense in all its bearings will not hesitate at making somewhat free with the expression of his quotation. He will adapt its form to his present use, without fear of departing from its spirit. But none will venture to make so free use of a quotation as the writer himself should he have occasion to do so. He knows its sense, and its bearing and application. He will apply it where another would not dare to do so. He will alter it with a freer hand. But, whether done by author or by others, the true law



of quotation is not confined to a verbal copying. Where the object is to shew the *style* of a writer, of course his very words are the thing to be regarded. Now this, we believe, is not the object of Scripture in a single one of its quotations. Its object is higher by far, and in the pursuit of this object it goes through the entire range of the law which regulates legitimate quotation, but never goes beyond it. Sometimes it adheres to the exact expression of the original, sometimes it alters it a little, sometimes much; sometimes it enters into its spirit, scarcely using its words, a significant phrase alone, perhaps, shewing to what place and to what writer it refers. Its law, from which no departure is made, is adherence to the sense of the original and its application to the present purpose. To adhere to this, the grand law of quotation, it is often necessary to depart from the mere expression of the original.

We find such a use of quotation among ordinary writers, and used at times with the happiest effect. Cicero, that great master of the Latin tongue, knew well this art of quotation; how and when to alter the expression that he might bring it to bear, not with diminished but with additional force. Thus, he often speaks of the class of readers whom he should desire for his works, and, in doing so, quotes a saying of Lucilius. Lucilius wished for readers who were neither among the most learned or the most ignorant classes, and Cicero, expressing his concurrence with this view of Lucilius, quotes the same phrase in three different ways. In the passage as preserved by Pliny, he thus quotes from Lucilius: "I do not write for very learned people; I do not wish my works to be read by Manius Persius, but by *Junius Congus*." This Persius was a man of great learning, while Congus was a man of moderate information. In his book, *De Oratore*, Cicero dwells upon the same subject, and again quotes this expression from the writings of Lucilius, but he here introduces a different name as the representative of his class of moderately learned men: "Persium non curo legere, Lælium, Decimum volo." (ii. vi.)

In his book, *De Finibus* (i. iii.), he departs, avowedly, a little from the sentiment of Lucilius. He no longer refuses the judgment of the most learned, while he avows his preference for

that of the next order of learning: "Utinam esset ille Persius !  
*Scipio vero et Rutilus* multo etiam magis !"

In these three passages, each avowedly quoted from Lucilius, Cicero, while he retains the same representative for the highest order of learning, makes in each place a different representative for the next order of knowledge, and uses words and names which Lucilius did not. Has he, in this, departed from the legitimate use of quotation? By no means. The expression is altered, but only to bring the passage to bear in its full force in each separate place. In one place Congus, in another Lælius, in another Scipio and Rutilus, are the best representatives of the class he refers to, and he unhesitatingly alters as circumstances call for. He departed from the expression in order to adhere more perfectly to the spirit of the original; for it was thus, he thought, that Lucilius would himself have written, if he were writing under the circumstances of Cicero. Among the ancients it was not unusual to convey the sense of a verse by its initial words, or, of large passages, by a line or half a line. And we have Milner in his *End of Controversy*, in his first essay on the Existence of God, bringing together, in one continuous passage, several verses scattered up and down in two chapters of the Book of Job, and slightly altering their expression in order to suit the passage into which he introduces them.

But if we find ordinary writers thus making a free use of quotation, and not adhering, where occasion required, to the very words of the original, we must not be surprised or offended if Scripture does the same. The laws of quotation in the one case are not to be different from the laws in the other. We must be able to judge of Scripture language, in all respects, as we judge of human language, else we cannot judge of it at all. The moment we attempt to separate it from the ordinary category, and to give it a peculiar rank of its own, that moment we put it out of our own power to judge of it, and, in fact, render it unintelligible. The perfect conformity of Scriptural language to all human language is a vital necessity with us. In whatever degree we make it to depart from this conformity, we place it in the region of the unknown and unintelligible. Now, we will find Scripture using the utmost latitude in its

manner of quotation, while it never departs from its essential laws. As we remarked that no one would make so free a use of quotation as the writer of the book that is quoted, because no one understood it so well in all its bearings, so we will find Scripture quoting from Scripture with a freedom and a latitude that an ordinary quoter from it might not at all times think himself authorized in doing, and which intimates the highest claim to an intimate knowledge of its sense and spirit. We will find the New Testament writers and speakers quoting from the Old Testament with a boldness and a freedom which becomes their claim to know the sense of the Old Testament better and more fully than the Old Testament writers did themselves. And all this is only in perfect conformity with that theory which supposes the New Testament writers to be inspired by the same spirit which inspired the ancient prophets, and which thus makes their quotations to be, in fact, the Great Author quoting his own sayings, and applying them, it may be, with an application unknown to the first human utterers of his mind, yet not unknown and not foreign to the Spirit's mind when He first uttered them through the prophets, and had in mind those various future times and occasions to which He intended His utterances to apply.

We will find one feature of Scriptural quotation to consist in this, that it combines in one passage texts taken from different places. Thus Paul's reference to God's testimony in the Old Testament: "I have found David the son of Jesse, a man after mine own heart, which shall fulfil all my will," is nowhere found in any one place of the Old Testament, but is made up of expressions found in different places (Acts xiii. 22). The phrase "after mine own heart" is taken from Samuel's description of the kind of man whom God would put into the place of Saul (1 Sam. xiii. 14), while the remainder of the passage is a mere epitome of various accounts of David, some of them very long, and found readily scattered throughout the historical books and the Psalms (Psalms lxxxix. 20, 21; lxxviii. 72, etc., etc.). Different places in the Old Testament might be cited as being here quoted, but no one of them supplies all the expressions. What is there however said, does contain in substance, and more than

once in phrase, what Paul in this place quotes as the testimony of God to David in the Old Testament. From Mark i. 2, 3, we find that passages found in two prophets are combined, and presented as a quotation from one of them, while the name of the other is not introduced at all. The words of verse 2, with very slight changes, are found in Malachi iii. 1; while those words do not occur in Isaiah from whom they profess to be quoted. The words of verse 3 are, however, found in Isa. xl. 3, and they imply the sense of Malachi's expression, and so the combined quotation is referred to Isaiah. Transcribers were so struck with the apparent impropriety of referring these two verses to Isaiah, that they altered the original reading "*ἐν Ἡσαϊα τῷ προφῆτῃ*," to the reading in our Authorized Version, "*ἐν ταῖς προφήταις*," which is now given up as incorrect. That reference is made in this place of Mark to both Isaiah and Malachi there can be no doubt, while there is as little that the name of one, and in this instance that of the chief of these prophets, is put for a quotation taken from both. We might find it difficult to justify such a mode of quotation from ordinary writers; as, for example, to say that passages taken from Shakspeare and Jonson, and occurring one after the other, were written by Shakspeare. But it is quite plain that, however unbelievers in the inspiration of the Old Testament may break up that book into the several parts composed by the several writers, and look upon them as just as distinct from each other as the books of ordinary writers were, this was not the light in which it was regarded either by Jewish or Christian writers. They regarded the book as a whole, composed under a common guidance of inspiration. It is this which justifies, and which, in all probability, led such a writer as Mark to group together as one quotation and as written by Isaiah, that which had two human authors. He always looked on the Old Testament as a connected whole, written at different periods, and by different men, but all having a common object, because all composed under the inspiration of one and the same Spirit. He hence refers to Isaiah words found only in Malachi, because he felt that the expression which he also quotes from the individual prophecy of Isaiah has the very same bearing and sense as the parallel passage in

Malachi. We believe that Isaiah and Malachi are the only prophets who combine the sending of John the Baptist with the appearance of Messiah. The quotation, therefore, from both of these prophets under the name of one of them seems peculiarly appropriate.

We would in the same way refer the celebrated quotation of Zechariah in Matthew xxvii. 9, as an instance of the referring of prophecies by two different writers to one of them by name. We suppose that Matthew here refers not only to the prophecy of Zechariah, whose *words*, to a considerable extent, he introduces, but also to the symbolic action and prophecy of Jeremiah, chapters xviii. and xix., to which prophet he refers by name. We suppose that in using the language of Zechariah, and expressly mentioning the name of Jeremiah, as referred to by him in this place, he signifies his bringing together under one name, and in one place, passages found in the Old Testament in two distinct books ; and also that the view of the whole transaction in question as related by Matthew requires the two distinct passages to be thus combined in order to be prophetic in its full extent of the transaction related in the Gospel. As this passage presents considerable difficulty, and has given rise to much controversy, we will devote some attention to it. We will first refer to the entire transaction as it is related in the Gospel history.

The authorized translation of Matthew xxvii. 9 does not, in one place, satisfy us. The phrase *ὃν ἐτιμήσαντο ἀπὸ υἱῶν Ἰσραήλ* does not appear to be properly translated by "whom *they of the children of Israel* did value." To us it appears capable of only two translations. The first is "whom they valued out of (*i. e.* selecting from) the children of Israel," a translation which Dean Alford, by his marginal references to verse 21 and to Luke vi. 13, appears to countenance. The second, and that which we prefer, is "whom they valued for, or on account of, the children of Israel." This use of *ἀπὸ* is frequent both in classical and New Testament Greek, and several examples of it are to be found in Matthew's Gospel (x. 28 ; xiii. 44 ; xiv. 26 ; xviii. 7, etc.). As being more agreeable to the sense of the entire transaction we prefer this to the former

translation ; and now let us refer to the transaction itself, and see the light in which the Gospels lay it before us.

In the first place the act of the estimation or valuation of our Lord's life here spoken of is the valuation in especial of the rulers of Israel, and particularly of the party of the Pharisees. It is they who bargain with Judas, and affix the price of Christ's life. Now from John xi. 47—53, we learn plainly in what light these regarded Christ. They regarded His life as the equivalent for the life of the entire nation. If He was permitted to run His course the destruction of Israel must ensue ; if He was cut off the life of the nation would be preserved. Such was the view put forward by Caiaphas, and adopted and acted on by the council and the Pharisees. Their taking away His life from Christ was considered as equivalent to the saving that of their entire nation. The safety (in their sense of the word) of Israel was the main thing aimed at. It was to preserve what they considered the nation's life that their measures were directed, and the destruction of Christ's life was the preservation of Israel's. In other words, the life of Christ was the equivalent of that of Israel, was the value which they put upon it. They would procure the one by the sacrifice of the other. Israel's existence was to be ensured by Christ's death, and *Israel's existence* was the great aim and object in the entire transaction. And, next, how are they to secure it, *i. e.*, how are they to destroy Christ? This was the object of their bargain with Judas, and this they secure for thirty pieces of silver, which thus become the value of Christ's life, which life was again the value of that of Israel. By a direct chain of consequence the thirty pieces of silver become the value, first of the life of Christ, and next, and mainly, of the life of Israel. If this money proximately represents Christ, it remotely, but just as certainly, represents the nation of Israel, But this is not the last link in this unbroken chain. The money is returned to the Pharisees. Conscience-stricken Judas will have none of it. He casts it from him as a viper from his bosom, and it becomes the property of the chief priests and elders, *i. e.*, of that same party who were planning to preserve the life of the nation. What are they to do with it? The price of blood cannot be mixed up with the

offerings of the treasury, and so they buy with that sum of money the field which belonged to the potter near Jerusalem. And now we see the transaction in its full bearing. The potter's field is the equivalent of the money, which was the equivalent of Christ's life, which was the equivalent of that of Israel, *i. e.*, the potter's field represented, according to the Gospel history, *the nation of Israel* in the estimation of its rulers. This is the view which the Gospels give us of this remarkable transaction; and this transaction is, according to Matthew, the one traced out fully in the prophecies of Jeremiah and Zechariah, quoted and referred to under the name of the former and greater of these two prophets. The potter of the Gospel is the representative of the potter of Jeremiah and Zechariah: the potter's field is the identical field which Jeremiah visited, as related in chapter xviii.

We will now see how the reference, not to either of these prophets, but to both of them, is required to carry out, and fully carries out, the full significance of the act. In fact, a reference to one only of the two would not answer. One is required to fill up the omission of the other, and to embrace in its fulness the transaction of the Gospel history. Jeremiah speaks only of *the potter's clay representing the utterly broken fortunes of the nation of Israel*. Zechariah speaks only of the valuation of Christ at thirty pieces of silver, and the giving of this money to the potter in the Lord's house as the equivalent for his property. Both are required to give all the links of that chain which the Gospel history has forged. Some links are given by Zechariah, the rest by Jeremiah; while it is Jeremiah alone who represents the full significance of the action in its bearing on the future of Israel. From Zechariah we learn that the potter received in return for his property thirty pieces of silver in the house of the Lord, and that this was the amount at which Christ was valued, predictive of that portion of the Gospel history which represents the rulers of the house of the Lord purchasing from the potter his field with the price of Christ's life; from Jeremiah we learn that this potter's field and clay represented the nation of Israel in the state of utter ruin and desolation to which they should be reduced. Without Zechariah we should not see how in prophecy Christ and his betrayal were connected

with the transaction ; without Jeremiah we should not see how in prophecy Israel and its ruin were the theme. Both together fill up the Gospel narrative ; and Matthew, by his reference to both under one name, tells us that what both taught was the full enunciation of the meaning of the bargain of the Pharisees with Judas for the life of Christ. The quotation is another instance of the custom of Scripture to group together two or more passages from different writers under the name of one, and affords us, as we think, a most striking instance of the wisdom and propriety of doing so. To us it suggests, instead of casting any doubt on the inspiration of St. Matthew, enabling him to point out what prophecies of the Old Testament bear upon his history, and elucidate it at the same time that it fulfils them. This he has done by giving us the words of Zechariah, and the name of Jeremiah, *i. e.*, referred to both their prophecies under the name of the latter. The latter name is with propriety the one selected. Of the two prophets he was the greatest ; of the two prophecies, while the words of Zechariah more literally describe a great part of the Gospel narrative, the whole sense and meaning of the potter's action, as related by Jeremiah, and explained by him in its symbolic bearing upon the people of Israel, is required to bring out the true and full sense of the Gospel narrative, *viz.*, representing it as teaching us that what the rulers of Israel did for the safety of their nation, did but secure possession of that fatal field which their own great prophet Jeremiah had foretold to be symbolical of a "land desolate, and a perpetual hissing : of God shewing them the back and not the face in the day of their calamity" (xviii. 16, 17).

From Mark xi. 17, we find that passages taken from different prophets are joined into one quotation without any distinct reference as to the place or writer from whom they are taken. Reference is here made beyond question to Isa. lvi. 7, and Jer. vii. 11, but neither prophet is named. What they have said in the two places becomes one passage in the Gospel, which has left the former of them quite unaltered, using the exact words of the Septuagint, while preserving the sense, it very much altered the words of the latter so as to join in with the expression of the former.



Rom. xi. 8 affords another illustration of this mode of quotation. We have in this one verse reference undoubtedly made to four passages of the Old Testament, and to no less than three of its writers (Deut. xxix. 3; Isa. vi. 9; xxix. 10; Ezek. xii. 2). The sentiment, and to some degree the expression, of these passages are adopted, and all formed into a single verse without the mention of any name. And this passage, we may observe, lets us partly into the reason for this mode of quotation. It will be remarked that when St. Paul, in the ninth and tenth verses, goes on to quote still further from the Scriptures in proof of his point, he mentions the name of the writer from whom he quotes, "*and David saith.*" The passage he next quotes is from one of David's Psalms, and he therefore names David. We may hence conclude that in the eighth verse St. Paul would have mentioned the name of the writer, but that he knew that his quotation was made up from several sources, and so, to avoid encumbering his argument with a variety of names, he uses the simple expression "*it is written,*" leaving it to his reader's knowledge of Scripture to recognize the various places he referred to. This may guide us to give a similar reason for the similar phrase elsewhere, or for the use of a single name, when in reality more than one sacred writer is quoted from. Brevity is thereby secured. While we may well suppose that such was the accurate acquaintance on the part of the apostolic churches with the letter of their Scriptures that they would be at no loss to refer at once to the passage or passages which were referred to.

It would not be difficult to collect more passages (*e. g.* 2 Cor. vi. 16—18, from Levit. xxvi. 11, 12; Isa. lii. 11; Jer. xxxi. 9—33) which shew a similar manner of quotation. From them we learn that this is one of the ways of Scriptural quotation. It brings together in one place passages taken freely from the whole range of the Old Testament. It sometimes quotes them without reference to any particular book or writer, and at other times it names a writer, not as significant that the passage is found in him exclusively, but as indicating that his writings do more or less bear upon the point in hand, while it may also be possible that other writers not named have also spoken of it, and that their writings may be required to fill up

and fully bring out the sense, not complete, perhaps, in the passage of the writer actually named.

Another feature, which is readily seen to run throughout the quotations of Scripture, is that wherever, for any good reason, a departure from the exact words or expression may be required, perfect liberty is taken to do so, taking care at the same time to adhere to the spirit and sense of the original passage or passages.

In Matthew i. 23, quoted from Isaiah vii. 14, we see a slight variation in the grammar for the sake of a better application of the passage to existing circumstances. That which is singular both in Hebrew and Septuagint, viz., "*thou shalt call*," is in the Evangelist changed into plural—"they shall call." The reason for this alteration is very evident, and very apposite. It fixes the sense of the Hebrew singular verb (קָרָאתָ second person, singular feminine), "*thou shalt call*," as not affirmed of any individual, but as affirmed of the community of believing Israelites, and of those who, conforming to the faith of Israel, are made partakers of their hopes and promises. Such is assuredly the true force of the Hebrew expression, and the translation of the Evangelist is doubtless really much more accurate than the apparently closer translation of the Septuagint (καλέσεις), which would seem to make the words addressed exclusively to Ahaz.

The quotation made in Matthew ii. 23, "*He shall be called a Nazarene*," very plainly and very fully carries out the view that the sacred writers do not at all confine themselves to the mere words of the passages referred to in their quotations. Here is a very brief quotation of a few words said to be spoken, not by any one prophet, but by the prophets generally. The exact expression occurs nowhere in the Old Testament. What then is this passage affirmed by Matthew to have been spoken by the prophets? Jesus was called by his contemporaries, by way of reproach, the Nazarene; and his followers were with a similar object called Nazarenes, Nazareth and its inhabitants being proverbially despised in Israel (John i. 47). The quotation is then evidently a reference, in a few pithy words which embrace their sense, to those many and varied and copious passages in the books of the prophets, which set forth, along with the glory, the low estate of the Messiah. The Jew of a corrupt tradition over-

looked these passages, and rejected Christ because of his humility. The Evangelist had these passages fully in his mind, their description of Christ as despised and rejected of men, and he sums up all their force and significance in a few words, which, to Jewish readers of his age, would most forcibly convey the idea of unutterable contempt, "He shall be called a Nazarene." Here is no profession of any, the smallest, attempt to repeat any passage found in any prophet. Here is avowedly the setting forth, in a strong brief phrase, of the sense and meaning of many passages of many prophets. Yet, this phrase is said to have been "spoken by the prophets," thus carrying out exactly the view that the sacred writers, in their quotations, depart where they please from mere copying of expression, and in language of their own convey, as expressed by the prophets, what those prophets have expressed in different language.

Matthew xii. 21 affords us an example of a quotation from a particular part of a named prophet which, adhering most strictly to the prophet's sense, departs very freely from his language, evidently for the purpose of making the expression plainer to his readers. The Hebrew, correctly rendered in the Authorized Version, "the isles shall wait for his law," is in the Evangelist rendered "in his name shall the Gentiles trust." The sense of both passages is the same, but the words are altered to bring out the sense more clearly to Matthew's readers. Nor can it be said that the Evangelist departs from the expression of the Hebrew in order to copy or follow that of the Septuagint, with which version, in verse 21, he all but literally agrees; for, in the preceding verses, quoted from the same chapter of Isaiah, he departs widely from the language of the Septuagint. He is to be taken therefore as an authority wholly independent of the Septuagint, who follows his own view alike where he agrees as where he differs from that version. Romans iii. 10—12 affords us another example from a writer who certainly cannot be upposed at all ignorant either of the Hebrew or Septuagint Scriptures. For the sake of adapting his quotation to the place where it is introduced by him, he recasts its form, while he preserves its sense. This will best be seen by simply placing side by side the parallel passages.

Psalm xiv. 1, 2.

Romans iii. 10, 11.

They are corrupt, they have done abominable works, there is none that doeth good. The Lord looked down from heaven upon the children of men, to see if there were any that did understand and seek after God.

There is none righteous, no not one. There is none that understandeth, there is none that seeketh after God.

It will here be readily seen the liberty which the Apostle takes with the mere text which he quotes, and declares that he quotes "as it is written." He presents us with its sense in full, but he abbreviates very considerably, and affirms absolutely of mankind, by their want of understanding, what the psalm in the parallel verse makes an object of inquiry only, though, in the succeeding verses, it intimates that the inquiry had that unsuccessful issue for human merit which the Apostle directly asserts from it. Many other places might freely be referred to with a like result, but the above are certainly sufficient to carry out the proposition that one important and palpable feature of Scriptural quotation is, that it frequently and avowedly departs from the mere words which it refers to, while it adheres strictly to their sense, and even by its departures in various ways from their expression, brings out their sense more fully for the readers of later times.

There is an idea, not uncommon, that the New Testament writers derive their quotations from the Septuagint version. It is well to have a clear understanding of this question. A careful examination will lead us to the conclusion that the New Testament writers are not copyists of any version, but exercise a perfectly independent judgment of their own; sometimes, nay often, following the Septuagint word for word, but, also, at others departing freely and materially from it; sometimes adhering to the Hebrew text as closely as translation from one language into another will admit, at other times making such alterations in the mere expression as would, according to their judgment, present the sense more clearly to their readers; while full proof exists that in their variation from the Old Testament versions those variations are not caused through the quotation being made from an imperfect recollection. We will give brief but sufficient proof of these several points.

Our first point is that the New Testament writers, at times, adhere to the Hebrew text as closely as translation will admit of. A comparison of Luke iii. 5, 6, with Isa. xl. 4, is an instance of this. It is true that the New Testament here is also identical for the most part with the Septuagint version; but in one expression where the latter departs from the Hebrew, viz., in making a plural noun in the Hebrew singular in the Greek (רַבִּים *ἡ τραχεία*), the New Testament follows the Hebrew and not the Septuagint. Rom. xii. 19, compared with Deut. xxxii. 35, shews this more fully. The Septuagint here departs very widely from the Hebrew in expression (*ἐν ἡμέρα ἐκδικήσεως ἀνταποδώσω*), while the epistle adheres strictly to it. 1 Pet. i. 16 is another instance of this, adhering closely to the Hebrew, while it departs from the expression of the Septuagint in the two places in Leviticus (xi. 44, xix. 2), where the passage occurs, using *γένεσθε* for *ἐσεσθε*. This exact conformity to the Hebrew, where the Septuagint differs from this latter, is not, however, very often to be remarked in the quotations of the New Testament. The Septuagint being the version in use at the time, the agreement of the New Testament quotations with it are much more frequent and marked, as we will now briefly shew.

There are many reasons why the quotations of the New Testament should be exact copies from, or closely follow, the version of the Septuagint. This latter was the version in use among the Jews throughout the world, and that to which Gentile and Christians would be directed in their religious inquiries. With, in our opinion, many and grave faults, it was a most valuable translation of the Scriptures, and so far as it adhered to the sense of the original, had an equal right with it to be called the word of God. We cannot, therefore, wonder that, in very many instances, the quotations of the New Testament are verbal copies from this version. We will merely place two examples of this agreement side by side.

Deut. viii. 3.

Οὐκ ἐπ' ἄρτω μόνῳ ζήσεται ὁ  
ἄνθρωπος, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ παντὶ ῥήματι  
ἐκπορευομένῳ διὰ στόματος Θεοῦ.

Matt. iv. 4.

Οὐκ ἐπ' ἄρτω μόνῳ ζήσεται ὁ  
ἄνθρωπος, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ παντὶ ῥήματι ἐκ-  
πορευομένῳ διὰ στόματος Θεοῦ.

Here the only difference is the omission in the Gospel of the article before *ἄνθρωπος* in Deuteronomy.

Isaiah xlix. 6.

Acts xiii. 47.

Τέθεικά σε εἰς φῶς ἐθνῶν, τοῦ  
εἶναι σε εἰς σωτηρίαν ἕως ἐσχάτου  
τῆς γῆς.

Τέθεικά σε εἰς φῶς ἐθνῶν, τοῦ  
εἶναι σε εἰς σωτηρίαν ἕως ἐσχάτου  
τῆς γῆς.

The agreement in these places is perfect, and an agreement as perfect, or nearly so, may be noted in the following quotations also:—Matt. iv. 6=Psalms xci. 11. Luke iii. 5, 6=Isa. xl. 4. Matt. iv. 7=Deut. vi. 16. Matt. xiii. 14=Isa. vi. 9. John xix. 24=Psalms xxii. 18. Acts ii. 25—28=Psalms xvi. 8—11. Acts viii. 32, 33=Isa. liii. 7, 8. Rom. iii. 4=Psalms li. 4. James ii. 8=Levit. xix. 18. James iv. 6=Prov. iii. 34. Acts xviii. 26=Isa. vi. 9.

These instances, taken indiscriminately from every part of the New Testament, and from almost every one of its writers, shew us that these regarded the Septuagint version as God's word, that they were thoroughly acquainted with it, and that they unhesitatingly copied its exact expressions, seeking to make no change where no change was required.

But it is not so generally known, and it is most important to remark, that while sometimes, nay very often, following the exact expression both of Hebrew and Septuagint, the New Testament writers shew their independence by frequent departures from the Hebrew in expression, from the Septuagint in both expression and meaning. This we will first shew by sufficient examples, and then draw the inferences to be gathered from the fact. In a former paragraph, where we shewed that the New Testament writers, in various instances, followed the sense rather than the mere words of the Old, we have, in effect, already entered upon this point so far as it refers to the departure from the *ipsissima verba* of the Hebrew text. For the sake of brevity, we will not then pursue it further in regard of this latter. We will merely give a list of some of the quotations which sometimes in the change of grammar, as relates to the alteration of mood or person, sometimes in the substitution of one word or phrase for another, or by expansion or abbreviation, depart from the text, though never from the sense of the original:—Matt. i. 23=Isa. vii. 14. Mark i. 2=Mal. iii. 1. Mark i. 3=Isa. xl. 3.

Eph. iv. 8=Psalms lxviii. 19. Matt. xii. 21=Isa. xlii. 4. Matt. xiii. 14=Isa. vi. 10. Matt. xxi. 5 and John xii. 15=Zech. ix. 9. Mark xi. 17=Jer. vii. 11. John xii. 40=Isa. vi. 10. Matt. xxvi. 31=Zech. xiii. 7. Matt. xxvii. 9, 10=Zech. xi. 12, 13. Acts ii. 17—21=Joel ii. 28, 29. Acts iii. 22, 23=Deut. xviii. 15, 18, 19. Acts vii. 43=Amos v. 25, 26. Rom. x. 15=Isa. lii. 7. Rom. xi. 26=Isa. lix. 20. 1 Cor. ii. 9=Isa. lxiv. 4. 1 Cor. xv. 45=Gen. ii. 7.

It is of more importance to notice the fact that the New Testament writers are perfectly independent in their quotations of the Septuagint version as an authority to be adopted implicitly by them. It is not to our purpose here to inquire into the authority of that version, in our opinion often too highly rated. We do not, however, question its value and authority, and to this abundant testimony is given in the New Testament. It is frequently quoted verbatim, and acknowledged as God's word, which every version of Scripture, so far as it adheres to the sense of the original, is to the fullest degree, and just as much so as the original writing itself is. But, at the same time, the New Testament writers shew in the fullest measure their independence of the Septuagint, and their sense that, in some respects, it has erred as a faithful version, by departing not infrequently, not merely from its expression, but from its meaning, in which last respect it has never been shewn, and, we believe, never can be shewn, that they depart from the proper text of the original Hebrew. It is of much consequence to note, however, that the New Testament writers hold themselves in perfect freedom as to following or departing from the Septuagint. They wholly disclaim its infallibility. They recognise, in their departures from it, a superior knowledge on their own part of the true sense of the prophetic writings. This we now proceed to shew.

We first place side by side the quotation of St. Matthew from Micah v. 1.

Matt. ii. 6.

Καὶ σὺ Βηθλεὲμ, γῆ Ἰούδα, οὐ-  
δαμῶς ἐλαχίστη εἰ ἐν τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν  
Ἰούδα, ἐκ σοῦ γὰρ ἐξελεύσεται ἡγου-  
μενος, ὅστις ποιμανεῖ τὸν λαόν μου  
τὸν Ἰσραήλ.

Micah v. 2 (Septuagint).

Καὶ σὺ Βηθλεὲμ, οἶκος Ἐφραθα,  
ὀλιγόστος εἰ τοῦ εἶναι ἐν χιλιάσιν  
Ἰούδα· ἐκ σοῦ μοι ἐξελεύσεται τοῦ  
εἶναι εἰς ἀρχοντα τοῦ Ἰσραήλ.

In this quotation St. Matthew departs both from the language and the sense of the Septuagint. The first of these departures is evident at a single glance. Using some of the expressions, and that in a way that shews the Evangelist's acquaintance with the Septuagint version, for the resemblance is much stronger than could possibly arise from accident, he departs over and over also from the Septuagint expression, so that the divergence is greater than the correspondence. We will only remark one alteration, the substitution of the "land of Judah" for Bethlehem's ancient name of Ephratah, probably as being more descriptive to his readers than the Septuagint expression, which is also that of the Hebrew. But the plain and marked departure in sense of the Evangelist from the Septuagint is more fully to be noticed. The Septuagint, in apparent agreement with the Hebrew, makes a simple assertion of the utter insignificance of Bethlehem among the thousands or rulers of Judah, which insignificance, though real, and though implied in the passage, and though forming the very basis on which the saying of the prophet rests as its foundation, is not the point actually presented to notice. It is the *real importance* of little Bethlehem as the birthplace of the Ruler of Israel that Micah presents to notice. It is *the contrast* of this actual consequence with its, in other respects, insignificant position in Judah that the prophet would lay before his readers. The Vulgate, pointed as we have it, has seized upon this idea by its manner of presenting the passage, "Parvulus es in milibus Juda!" Its littleness is pointed to as not actual—as worthy of notice only to give fuller force to its intrinsic grandeur. This the Septuagint has wholly failed to see, and not seeing it, has actually made nonsense of the passage. It simply asserts its utter insignificance, notwithstanding the following words, which go to shew, by their connection, that the ancient littleness of Bethlehem is only referred to in order to bring out more strongly the high honour and greatness to which God's providence had raised it. The Evangelist has boldly seized upon this meaning of the Hebrew prophet hidden from the Alexandrian translator, and departed palpably and fully from his meaning. The Septuagint asserts the insignificance of Bethlehem as the great, or



rather the only, feature noted by Micah ; the Evangelist asserts the grandeur of Bethlehem as the feature noted by the prophet, and gives as the reason the coming forth from that little city of the Ruler of Israel. With the Septuagint the littleness of Christ's town is the only thing brought to our view ; with the Evangelist its greatness is the thing chiefly noted, its ancient meanness being not forgotten, but being only referred to in such a meanness as to present by contrast its grandeur as the greater from the comparison. The view of the Evangelist is doubtless that which Micah had in view.

Matt. xi. 15, as compared with Hos. xi. 1, presents another decided departure from the sense of the Septuagint version. Matthew, following the Hebrew, makes the passage a prediction of the recalling Christ when a child from the flight into Egypt, "out of Egypt have I called *my Son*." The Septuagint translator, ignorant of any prophetic idea in the text of Hosea, makes the passage altogether retrospective, and refers it solely to the exodus under Moses. Imagining that there was an ambiguity in the singular number of the Hebrew, he altered it to the plural (τὰ τέχνα αὐτοῦ) that there might be no doubt as to whom, in his opinion, the writer had referred. The Evangelist rejects the view of the Septuagint, reverts to the exact rendering of the Hebrew, holding to the view that the original exodus of Israel was typical of a similar event in the life of Him who was Israel's king and representative, and that Hosea's words had a prospective look to Christ as well as a backward to Israel.

Eph. iv. 8, "ἔδωκε δόματα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις," differs materially in expression from the Septuagint "ἔλαβες δόματα ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ," as we think it also differs essentially from the sense of the Septuagint translator. Matthew viii. 17 departs completely from the expression of the Septuagint.

Matt. viii. 17.

Isaiah liii. 4.

Αὐτὸς τὰς ἀσθενείας ἡμῶν ἔλαβε,  
καὶ τὰς νόσους ἐβάστασεν.

Ὅντος τὰς ἀμαρτίας ἡμῶν φέρει,  
καὶ περὶ ἡμῶν ῥδυνᾶται.

The difference here in expression is as complete as that of one rendering of so short a passage can well be from another. But in regard of sense there is also, as it appears to us, a not immaterial difference also. We do not say that the sense which the

Septuagint puts upon the Hebrew, viz., “sins,” is incorrect; for the Hebrew includes the moral sickness as well as the physical, and, we have no doubt, referred to both. But while the Septuagint translation is not absolutely erroneous as conveying a false sense, it is incomplete as excluding part of the sense. This excluded part on the side of the Septuagint is what the Evangelist chiefly and mainly presents to view, thus departing from the sense of the Septuagint, which does not admit of the Evangelist’s meaning at all. And here is seen a difference between strict translation, which is the aim of the Septuagint, and quotation, which is the aim of the Evangelist. The former, to be correct, must take in, in its rendering, *the full sense* of the original. Else it is not *a translation* of phrase. The latter, to be correct, need not take in this full meaning, and sometimes gains in force and power from absolutely omitting a part of the meaning, and dwelling exclusively upon what is only a part. This is what the Evangelist has done in the passage before us. Isaiah had described Christ as bearing all the infirmities of soul, as well as body, of his nation. The Evangelist is describing a part of this office as actually exercised by Christ, namely, his healing of the sick, and brings forward the passage from Isaiah, so rendered as to speak only of that operation of Christ which he was actually describing in his Gospel. That which would have been erroneous as a mere translation as incomplete, is a positive merit in a quotation, as making it bear with undivided force upon the actual point in hand. If St. Matthew were speaking of Christ as the moral physician of the soul, he could then have quoted Isaiah as the Septuagint has translated it, without falling into the error into which the Septuagint has fallen as being an intended translation.

Matt. xii. 18, is another plain example of the departure both from the sense and the expression of the Septuagint. What the latter applies to the nation of Israel the former applies to Christ. It will be sufficient to place the two passages side by side.

Matt. xii. 18.

Ἰδοὺ, ὁ παῖς μου, ὃν ἡρέτισα· ὁ ἀγαπητός μου, εἰς ὃν εὐδόκησεν ἡ ψυχὴ μου, etc.

Isaiah xlii. 1.

Ἰακώβ ὁ παῖς μου, ἀντιλήψομαι αὐτοῦ· Ἰσραὴλ ὁ ἐκλεκτός μου, προσεδέξατο αὐτὸν ἡ ψυχὴ μου, etc.

1 Cor. xiv. 21 differs decidedly both in sense and expression from the Septuagint, which has, in this instance, certainly failed to meet the meaning of the Hebrew.

1 Cor. xiv. 21.

Isaiah xxviii. 11.

Ὅτι ἐν ἑτερογλώσσοις, καὶ ἐν Διὰ φανλισμον χείλεων, διὰ γλώσ-  
χείλεσιν ἑτέροις λαλήσω τῷ λαῷ σης ἑτέρας, ὅτι λαλήσουσι τῷ λαῷ  
τοῦτω. τοῦτω.

The departure here in expression is very obvious; it is of importance to notice also the departure in meaning. There is no doubt that the Hebrew word, which the authorized version has translated "stammering," has in itself the sense which the Septuagint has put upon it, as well as the sense which St. Paul has given it in the Epistle to the Corinthians. In the particular place, however, in Isaiah, it cannot have both meanings; one of the two must be chosen, and the other set aside; and the New Testament has not hesitated in setting aside the sense which the Septuagint version had affixed to it.

To the passages just advanced we will merely add some others, an examination of which will shew a departure, some more, some less, from the expression or the meaning of the Septuagint. These various passages are quite sufficient to shew that while the New Testament writers attached and displayed a high value to the Septuagint version as the only version of God's Word to which the great mass of their readers could have access, they by no means follow it implicitly. They regard it plainly as only man's translation of God's Word, and as such liable to errors which they have, in a variety of instances, shewn their sense of in departing from its meaning. In other places where they agree in sense they differ in expression, thus shewing that they did not regard themselves as bound to follow implicitly either the language or the meaning of the Septuagint. They ascribe to themselves by implication the knowledge of God's mind in his revelations to the ancient prophets, and therefore the knowledge to quote and apply the writings of those prophets agreeably to the mind of the Holy Ghost. With this conscious feeling they have no hesitation in departing at pleasure from the ancient Greek version, however authoritative from time and usage. We refer to the following quotations: Matt. iv. 10 =

Deut. vi. 13 ; Matt. xxi. 5 = Zech. ix. 9 ; Mark i. 2 = Mal. iii. 1 ; Luke iv. 8 = Deut. vi. 16 ; John i. 23 = Isa. xl. 3 ; John xii. 15 = Zech. ix. 9 ; Acts ii. 17—21 = Joel iii. 1—3 ; Acts iii. 22, 23 = Deut. xviii. 15—19 ; Matt. iv. 15, 16 = Isa. viii. 23 ; ix. 1 ; Rom. iii. 10 = Psalm xiv. 2, 3 ; Rom. x. 15 = Isa. lii. 7 ; Rom. xii. 19 = Deut. xxxii. 35 ; 1 Cor. ii. 9 = Isa. lxiv. 4 ; Heb. x. 6 = Psalm xl. 7 ; 2 Pet. ii. 22 = Prov. xxvi. 11.

In bringing this paper to a conclusion, it will be necessary to advert to an opinion put forward occasionally by parties that the New Testament writers make their quotations from the Septuagint from imperfect memory, and thus account for their occasional departures from it in sense and expression. That the New Testament speakers, and it may be its writers also, do at times quote the Scriptures of the Old Testament from memory, is what it does not concern us to deny. In a subsequent paper we propose to consider the question of the influence of inspiration upon the human memory. It is indeed all but certain that in the original speeches contained in the New Testament, as those of Peter in Acts i. ii. iii. ; of Stephen in Acts vii. ; of Paul in Acts xiii. ; and elsewhere, the speakers quoted from their memory, not, we will say, merely of the Septuagint version only, but of the Hebrew as well. It is incumbent on the opponents of this to shew that they were not acquainted with the Hebrew. Paul, we know, was. But while we can have little doubt that Paul and Peter and Stephen quoted in their speeches from their memory of the Old Testament, we doubt very much if this affects our present question in the smallest degree. Those speeches were not taken down by shorthand writers upon the spot, but were, how derived we cannot exactly tell, recorded, many of them at least, by a writer who wrote at his leisure years after the speeches were spoken. He certainly had the opportunity, which the speakers had not, of consulting the original Scriptures from which the quotations were made. Were he an ordinary human writer we can have little doubt that he would, and that he would have made the quotations in his history exactly agree with the Septuagint, whether the original speech did or not. Or if he were an ordinary writer, collecting from ordinary men their knowledge and recollections of what

had been uttered in their presence, or that of acquaintances of theirs in times gone by, there would have been the same need and the same opportunity of consulting the Scriptures, said to have been quoted upon those occasions, and so we should not have found the differences that we actually do. If, as we fully hold, we find in the written history the very discrepancies with, and departures from, the Septuagint which actually occurred in the speeches when they were first uttered, how are we to account for this marvellous agreement? It surely displays a memory *somewhere existing* in connection with the writing of the New Testament, whether on the part of the original speaker, or on the part of some of his hearers, it matters little where, which will well admit of our not attributing the divergencies themselves to any failure of memory. The recollections of departures, correct or not correct, from a well-known and established text-book is a far greater display of memory than the adherence to the text on the part of the original quoters of it, who were intimately acquainted with its letter. To condemn then as imperfect, the memory of the first speakers is only to put forward the harder problem of accounting for the remembrance of their divergence from a book in common use, and which would, whenever used, set aside the error for the real text. Again, we repeat then that if we allow, after the lapse of days, or weeks, or years, the perfect memory of departures in recorded speeches from the text meant to be quoted, we allow of a far more extraordinary exercise of memory than is required for the accurate recollection of the text. The departure from the text was but once made; the text itself was a hundred times read or heard. If we reject this theory of a wonderful recollection somewhere of the speeches once uttered, and refer the matter to the ordinary way of human writers, collecting by ordinary human methods the account of speeches delivered upon former occasions, we in effect refer all such quotations made in speeches to the same category as quotations purporting to be made, not in a speech, but in a writing of any kind; for beyond any fair question the recorder of the speeches would use the text-book in his record of its quotations.

What we are here concerned with is, not the quoting from memory, which we neither affirm nor deny on the part of the

New Testament writers, but the quoting from an *imperfect* memory, so that the differences which occur do not arise from *intention* on the part of the writer, but from want of proper recollection—*i.e.*, that the writers would have quoted differently if they had the original text before them, and did not quote merely from memory.

While, however, we would not absolutely affirm or deny that the writers of the New Testament quote, with greater or lesser frequency, from their memory of the Old Testament, we unhesitatingly lay down that, in our judgment, the vastly more probable opinion of the two is that they did not. Our firm belief is, that when an Evangelist wrote a Gospel, or an Apostle indited an Epistle for the benefit of Christian Churches, they had before them the original documents from which they professed to quote. There would be no great difficulty in their doing so, for there were copies of the Jewish Scriptures wherever there was a Jewish synagogue. Besides, the first promulgators of the Gospel were in constant controversy with the unbelieving Jews; their controversies mainly turned on the correspondence of the life of Jesus Christ with the predictions of Moses and the Prophets; and we cannot, therefore, suppose any of the leading men in the great movement of primitive Christianity to have been unpossessed of a copy of those Scriptures to which he was always appealing against the objections of unbelievers (Acts xv. 21; xvii. 2; xviii. 28; xxviii. 23). Were we to suppose the New Testament writers to have been only ordinary men, unpossessed of any inspiration, we could scarcely entertain for a moment the notion that they would quote in documents, sure to be tested by friend or foe, from memory. They would, by every probable reason, consult documents within their reach, ere they put forth arguments on a question which agitated the mind of their world beyond any and all others. Nor does our theory of inspiration, or any reasonable theory of inspiration, lead us to suppose that they would, if inspired, follow any other course than they would have followed if uninspired. Inspiration went with, did not supersede, any natural gift or faculty. It was not a disturbing or counteracting force, thrusting aside God's ordinary endowments of man, but was a gentle, pervading power,

often scarce felt in its working ; sustaining, helping, guiding—and this perhaps often imperceptibly—the natural faculties, even as the air works its great work, not merely when it blows in the tempest, but when it gently breathes in the light breeze, or is absolutely without sound or motion. We are therefore led to conclude, as the probability of the matter, that the New Testament writers would, under any circumstances, consult in their quotations the documents from which they quoted.

We think this of *all* their quotations. But of some of their quotations we have as absolute proof as can be required that they are not quoted from memory, be it perfect or imperfect. The first quotation we refer to is a recorded quotation of Christ from Isaiah. It differs in one important respect from the Septuagint ; and in this difference the two Evangelists who relate his words precisely agree. We place the respective passages side by side.

Matt. xv. 9.

Διδάσκοντες διδασκαλίας ἐντάλματα ἀνθρώπων.

Mark vii. 7.

Διδάσκοντες διδασκαλίας, ἐντάλματα ἀνθρώπων.

Isaiah xxix. 13.

Διδάσκοντες ἐντάλματα ἀνθρώπων καὶ διδασκαλίας.

Here is to be remarked a very decided departure in expression, and also, as we think, in sense from the Septuagint. This departure is identical in both Evangelists. It cannot be attributed to their quoting the Septuagint from memory ; for while in that case there might be indeed a departure on the part of both of them from the Septuagint, that departure would be different in both. The copying of one Evangelist from the other is an idea now very justly and universally abandoned. If it be said they did not in this instance quote from the Septuagint, but recorded a divergence from it, because such divergence was actually made by Christ when he quoted the passage many years before, it is only allowing what is here contended for, that the Evangelists do not quote the Septuagint from memory, while also a power of memory is attributed either to them or to others, their informants, which is altogether beyond that of man.

Passages such as this shew, by a common divergence, that the New Testament writers do not quote from their memory of

the Septuagint version. Passages of a different kind—those, namely, which perfectly and accurately agree with each other, as well as with the Septuagint—shew the same. Were men quoting from an *ordinary memory*,—and, of course, it is only of such memory that we speak,—they would not exhibit in their several relations that perfect adherence to the original which is frequently observed. We will only subjoin two of these, with the observation that such places exhibit on the part of the Evangelists their habit of consulting the Septuagint, and adhering to it where departure from it did not appear to them to be required.

Matt. xxii. 44. Mark xii. 36. Luke xix. 42-3. Psalm cx. 1.

Εἶπεν ὁ Κύριος τῷ  
Κυρίῳ μου· Κάθου ἐκ  
δεξιῶν μου, ἕως ἂν θῶ  
τοὺς ἐχθρούς σου ὑπο-  
πόδιον τῶν ποδῶν σου.

Ditto.

Ditto.

Ditto.

Matt. xxvii. 35. John xix. 24. Psalm xxii. 19.

Διμερίσαντο τὰ ἱμάτια  
μοῦ ἑαυτοῖς, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν  
ἱματισμόν μου ἔβαλον  
κλῆρον.

Ditto.

Ditto.

D. A.

Dr. Oppert, who has been recently in London, made a discovery, while there, which is of considerable interest to Biblical archæologists. In a new inscription of the king whose annals are on the Nimrud Obelisk, and whom he calls Salmaneser III., he found the name Achabbu-Ciri'lay, "Ahab the Israelite," as that of a king reigning in his sixth year. The names of both the king and his country are new; and the spelling of the latter is remarkable. This Salmaneser, who reigned at least thirty years, received presents from Jehu, whom he improperly calls the son of Omri, before the close of his reign; and he waged war with Hazael, King of Syria, in his eighteenth year. The last three royal names were discovered by Dr. Hincks in 1851. According to the Book of Kings, there were thirteen years between the death of Ahab and the accession of Jehu; and it was during this interval that Hazael began to reign in Syria. The contemporary Assyrian records are here in perfect harmony with the statements in the Bible.



## A SERMON ON CANTICLES I., 3.

BY RICHARD OF HAMPOLE.

[As a religious poet, Richard of Hampole has already been introduced to the readers of this journal.<sup>a</sup> There has recently been published a sermon of his in prose, which we think of sufficient interest to justify our reproducing it here. The sermon occurs among *The Prose Treatises of Richard Rolle de Hampole*, edited by the Rev. G. G. Perry, M.A., for the Early English Text Society. In that work the curious may see it in its original form; but to remove any difficulty which might arise from its antiquated style, we shall modernize the spelling throughout, and, in a few instances, substitute current words for such as have long been obsolete. We do not call our edition a translation, because we have retained the author's own words as far as they are likely to be generally intelligible, and even when modern terms might have seemed to have the advantage. Instances of this will be frequently noticed, but one or two examples may be mentioned now. Where Hampole employs the word "yearn," we have repeated it in its modern form, and the same is the case with the word "desire;" but *fylde*, in the sense of "satisfied," has been printed "filled."

Thanks to the labours of Mr. Perry, we now really know something of this remarkable man. At present, however, it is not our intention to repeat the details of his life, and we merely remark that he was a travelling or itinerant preacher, intensely devoted to the task of conveying spiritual instruction to his countrymen. He died in 1349. If the following sermon is a fair example of his method, there can be little doubt that he was popular as a preacher.—J. M. C.]

## OF THE VIRTUES OF THE HOLY NAME OF JESUS.

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"Ricardus heremita super versiculo

Oleum effusum nomen tuum."—Cantic I. 3.

That is, in English, "Oil poured out is thy name." The name of Jesus comes into the world, and at once it smells as oil poured out. Oil is the token for the hope of everlasting salvation.

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<sup>a</sup> See *Journal of Sacred Literature* for July, 1865, and January, 1866.

Truly, Jesus means Saviour or Healthful. Therefore what means "oil poured out is thy name," but that Jesus is thy name? This name is oil poured out, for Jesus, the Word of God, has taken man's nature. Jesus, thou fulfillest in work that which thou art called in name, truly thou, whom we call Saviour, savest man, therefore Jesus is thy name.<sup>b</sup> Ah! ah! that wonderful name! Ah! that delightful name! This is the name which is above all names; name altogether highest, without which no man hopes for health. This name is in mine ear a heavenly sound; in my mouth honeyful sweetness. Therefore no wonder though I love that name, the which gives comfort to me in all anguish. I cannot pray, I cannot think<sup>c</sup> without sounding the name of Jesus. I taste not joy in that with which the name of Jesus is not mingled. Wheresoever I be, wheresoever I sit, whatsoever I do, the remembrance of the savour of the name of Jesus departs not from my mind. I have set it as a token upon my heart, as a token upon my arm, for love is strong as death.<sup>d</sup> As death slays all, so love overcomes all. Everlasting love has overcome me, not for to slay me, but for to quicken me. But it has wounded me, that it should heal me. It has pierced through my heart, and that to the marrow, ere it can be healed.<sup>e</sup> And now overcome I fail; scarcely can I live for joy. I almost die because I suffice not with this most delicious sweetness to be for ever drunken. The flesh may lose nothing of its virtue while the soul in such bliss is ravished for joy. But whence unto me such joy but for Jesus? The name of Jesus has taught me to sing, and has enlightened my mind with beams of uncreated light. Therefore I sigh and cry, "Who will shew to the beloved Jesus that I languish for love?" My flesh has failed and my heart melts in love, yearning for Jesus. The whole heart fixed in the yearning after Jesus is turned into the fire of love and

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<sup>b</sup> Ihesu, thou fulfillis in warke that thow es called in name, sothely sauyis man, that wham we calle saueoure, thare-fore Ihesu es thy name.

<sup>c</sup> I cane noghte hafe mynde.

<sup>d</sup> I have here preferred the reading of the Harleian MS. given by the Editor in a note.

<sup>e</sup> The meaning here is somewhat doubtful. The sentence runs thus:—"It has thurghe-fychede my herte, that merghlyere it be helyde." I have, in the text, adopted the explanation with which the Editor kindly favoured me.

with the sweetness of the Godhead is it fulfilled. Therefore, ah ! good Jesus, have mercy upon this wretch, shew thyself to this languishing one, be thou physician to this wounded. If thou come I am hale, I feel not sick but languishing for thy love ; pardon my soul-taking, seeking thee, Jesus, whom it loves, with whose love it is overcome, whom only it covets.

Truly the mind, touched with the sovereign sweetness, waxes hot in love of the Maker, whilst it endeavours to hold fast by the sweetest name of Jesus. Truly, thence arises a great love, and whatever thing it touches it ravishes utterly to it. It inflames the affection, it binds the thought ; yea, and it draws all the man to the service of it. Truly, Jesus, desirable is Thy name, loveable and comfortable. No joy so sweet may be conceived. No song so sweet may be heard. No solace so sweet and so delightful may be had in mind. Therefore, whatsoever thou art that makest thyself ready to love God, if thou wilt neither deceive nor be deceived, if thou wilt be wise and not unwise, if thou wilt stand and not fall, be careful to hold the name of Jesus in thy mind, and then thine enemy shall fall, and thou shalt stand ; thine enemy shall be made weak, but thou shalt be made strong. And if thou wilt heartily do this, without fear, thou shalt be a glorious and loveable overcomer. Seek, therefore, the name of Jesus, and hold it, and forget it not. Truly, nothing so quenches fierce flames, destroys ill thoughts, puts out venomous affections, does away curious and vain occupations from us. This name Jesus, loyally held in mind, draws vices by the root, sets virtues, sows charity, pours in a savour of heavenly things, wastes discord, reforms peace, gives indwelling rest, does away the grievousness of fleshly desires, turns all things earthly to contempt, fills the loving with ghostly joy. So that well may it be said, "All shall joy that love Thy name, for Thou shalt bless the righteous." Therefore the righteous has deserved to be blessed, if the name of Jesus he have truly loved. And he is called righteous, because he enforced himself truly to love Jesus. Wherefore what may cause harm unto him that covets unceasingly to love the name of Jesus ? Truly he loves, and he yearns to love, because we have known that the love of God stands in such manner that in the same degree that we love the

more we long to love.<sup>f</sup> Wherefore it is said, "They who eat me are yet ahungered, and they who drink me are yet athirst." Of itself, therefore, is the name of Jesus and the love of it delightful and covetable. Therefore joy shall not fail him who carefully covets to love Him whom angels yearn to behold. Angels ever see, and ever yearn to see; and they are filled in such wise that their filling does not away their desire, and so that their desire does not away their filling. This is full joy, this is endless joy, this is glorious joy, which the filled use for ever without sorrow; and if we use it we shall ever be filled without losing. Therefore, Jesus, all shall joy who love Thy name. Truly they shall joy now by inpouring of grace, and in time to come by sight of joy; and they, therefore, shall joy because joy comes of love. Therefore, he who loves not shall be ever more without joy. And many wretches hoping to joy with Christ shall sorrow without end. And why? Because they loved not the name of Jesus. Whatsoever ye do, if ye give all that ye have to the needy, unless ye love the name of Jesus, ye travail in vain. They alone may joy in Jesus who love Him in this life; and they who fill themselves with venomous delights, no fear but that they are put out of joy. Also know all that the name of Jesus is healthful, fruitful, and glorious. Therefore, who shall have health that loves it not? or who shall bear fruit before Christ that has not the flower? And joy shall he not see that joying loved not the name of Jesus. The wicked shall be done away, that he see not the joy of God. Truly, the righteous seek joy and love, and they find them in Jesus whom they loved. I went about by covetousness of riches, and I found not Jesus. I ran the wantonness of the flesh, and I found not Jesus. I sat in company of worldly mirth, and I found not Jesus. In all these I sought Jesus, but I found Him not, for He let me know by His grace that He is not found in the land of the softly living. Therefore I turned by another way, and I ran about by poverty, and I found Jesus poor, born into the world, laid in a crib, and lapped in clothes. I went by suffering of weariness, and I found Jesus weary in the way, tormented with hunger, thirsty and cold, filled with reproofs and blames. I sat alone,

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<sup>f</sup> In als mekyll als we may lufe the mare vs langes for to lufe.

fleeing the vanities of the world, and I found Jesus in the desert, fasting in the mount, praying alone. I ran by pain of penance, and I found Jesus bound, scourged, given gall to drink, nailed to the cross, hanging on the cross, and dying on the cross. Therefore, Jesus is not found in riches, but in poverty; not in delights, but in penance; not in wanton joying, but in bitter crying; not among many, but alone. Truly, an evil man finds not Jesus, for where He is he seeks him not. He enforces himself to seek Jesus in the joy of the world, where He shall never be found. Truly, therefore, the name of Jesus is healthful, and needs by all means to be loved of all who covet salvation. He covets well his salvation who keeps carefully within him the name of Jesus. Truly, I have no wonder if the tempted fall, for they keep not the name of Jesus in remembrance. Securely may they alone choose to live who have chosen the name of Jesus as their special friend, for no wicked spirit may annoy where Jesus is much in mind, or is often named by the lips.

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*Primeval History.*—Among other learned meetings to be held in the course of this summer, the “International Congress for Primeval History” deserves special attention. First founded two years ago at Spezzia, it is to be held this year at Paris, from the 17th to the 30th of August. The questions to be treated are as follows:—1. Under what geological circumstances and among what plants and animals have in the different countries the oldest traces of man been discovered? What changes in the division of sea and land must have ensued since? 2. Were the caves generally inhabited? Were they inhabited by the same race and at the same periods? And if not, how and by what characteristics are the inhabitants of the caves and the epochs to be distinguished? 3. Do the megalithic monuments belong to one people which by degrees overspread various countries? What were, in that case, the migrations of that race and its gradual and progressive steps in art and industry? What relation may there possibly be between this race and the lake-dwellers who possess an analogous industry? 4. Is the appearance of bronze in the West the result of an indigenous industry of violent conquests, or of the opening up of new channels of trade? 5. What are in the different countries the essential characteristics of the first iron period? Is this time anterior to historical times? 6. What information do we possess about the anatomical characteristics of the human races from the most ancient times to the iron period?—*Pall-Mall Gazette*.

## THE BOOK OF JOB.—A Revised Translation.

BY THE REV. J. M. RODWELL, M.A.

(Continued from Vol. I. (Fifth Series), page 224.)

## CHAPTER X. 1—12.

My soul loathes my life :

I will give way to my complaint, *which is* upon me,

In *the* bitterness of my soul will I speak out ;

I will say to Eloah, “ Pronounce me not guilty ;

Make me to know why Thou strivest with me ;

“ Beseems it<sup>p</sup> Thee to oppress, to despise, Thy handywork,

While Thou hast shone upon *the* counsel of *the* wicked ?

“ Hast Thou eyes of flesh ?

Or seest Thou, as frail-man seeth ?

“ *Are* Thy days as *the* days of frail-man,

And Thy years as *the* days of man,

“ That after my fault Thou searchest,

And enquirest for my sin ;

“ Though Thou knowest I am not guilty,

And *that* none can deliver out of Thy hand ?

“ Thy hands have fashioned me and made me

All round about ;—yet dost Thou swallow me up *in ruin* !

“ Remember now, that like clay hast Thou moulded me,

And that to dust Thou wilt return me !

“ Didst Thou not pour me out like milk,

And curdle me like cheese<sup>q</sup>—

“ *With* skin and flesh didst clothe me,

And with bones and sinews fenced me in ?

“ Life and favour hast Thou granted me,

And Thy care has watched over my breath ;

<sup>p</sup> Heb., *is it good for Thee that thou shouldest*, etc.

<sup>q</sup> Lit., *thicken* ; or, *coagulate me like curds*, in allusion to the formation of the embryo mass.

## CHAPTER X. 13—XI. 3.

- “ But these things Thou wast hiding in Thy heart,  
I know that this was Thy purpose.”
- “ Had I sinned, Thou wouldst have watched me,  
Wouldst not have acquitted me of my guilt.
- “ Had I done wickedly, alas for me !  
Or had I been righteous, I could not raise my head,  
Sated with shame, and seeing my *own* misery !
- “ And should it uplift *itself*, Thou wouldst hunt me like a  
lion,  
And again shew Thyself mighty against me ;
- “ Wouldst renew Thy witnesses before me,  
And increase Thine anger at me,  
Host after host<sup>1</sup> with me !
- “ Why then didst Thou bring me forth from *the* womb ?  
I ought to have breathed my last, and no eye have  
seen me !
- “ I ought to have been as though I had not been,  
Borne from the belly to the grave !
- “ Are not my days few ! let Him then desist,  
Let Him withdraw from me that I may brighten up a  
little,
- “ Before I go, and return not,  
To a land of darkness and death-shadow ;
- “ A land of gloom, like murk of death-shadow,  
Where order is not,<sup>2</sup> and the light is murk.”

Then answered Tsophar the Naamathite, and said :

Shall a multitude of words not be answered,  
And shall a man of *loquacious* lips be held right ?  
Shall men let thy figments pass in silence,  
So that thou mock, with none to shame thee,—

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<sup>1</sup> Heb., *with thee*.

<sup>2</sup> Lit., *changes and a host*.

<sup>3</sup> Lit., *and not orders, and (when) it shineth (it is) like murk*.

## CHAPTER XI. 4—15.

And say *to them*, "My discourse is pure,  
And I have been clean in thine eyes?"

But would now that Eloah would speak,  
And open his lips with thee ;

And tell thee *the* secrets of wisdom,  
(For manifold is *His* counsel),<sup>a</sup>

So shouldst thou know that Eloah will forget for thee of  
thy guilt !<sup>b</sup>

Wouldst thou reach *the* depths of Eloah ?

Wouldst thou reach to *the* perfection of Shaddai ?

Heights of heaven ! what canst thou do ?

Deeper than Sheol ! what canst thou know ?

Longer than *the* earth its measure,  
And broader than *the* sea !

If He assail and imprison,

And hold assize,<sup>c</sup> then who shall hinder him ?

For He knows those who are nothing worth,<sup>d</sup>

He beholds wickedness when no one is aware ;<sup>e</sup>

And the witless<sup>f</sup> himself would *then* gain wit,

Though a man is born a wild ass's colt.<sup>g</sup>

If thou apply thy heart,

And stretch out thy hands to Him ;—

If iniquity *be* in thy hand, put it far away,

And let not wickedness dwell in thy tent ;—

Surely, then, without spot shalt thou uplift thy face,

Stedfast and fearless shalt thou be ;

<sup>a</sup> Lit., *for (there is) double to counsel.*

<sup>b</sup> That is, Remember not all thy guilt.

<sup>c</sup> Lit., *convene (the people) as witnesses of condemnation.*

<sup>d</sup> Heb., *men of vanity.*

<sup>e</sup> Al., *though he seem not to perceive it.*

<sup>f</sup> Lit., *hollow (empty-headed).*

<sup>g</sup> Or, *though born the colt of a wild-ass man.* Com. Gen. xvi. 12, *and he will be a wild-ass-man.*



## CHAPTER XI. 16—XII. 7.

For thou shalt forget trouble,  
Remember *it*, as waters that have passed away.  
And a life-time brighter than noonday shall arise,—  
*If* darkness *come* it shall be as morning;  
And thou shalt be secure because there is hope,  
Thou shalt look around<sup>b</sup>—shalt lie down in safety;  
And when thou shalt couch down, none shall alarm thee,  
Yea, many shall make suit to thee.  
But *the* eyes of *the* wicked shall waste away,  
And refuge shall perish from them,  
And their hope,—the breathing out of life!

Then answered Job, and said :

In sooth then ye are *the* folk,<sup>c</sup>  
And with you shall wisdom die !  
I, too, have understanding as well as you,—  
I fall not *short* of you ;—  
And with whom are not such *words* as these?  
I am become *one who is* a laughing-stock to his friend !  
He who called on Eloah and He answered him,—  
The just, the blameless, a laughing-stock !  
Contempt for misfortune *is* in the thoughts of *the* secure ;  
It awaits<sup>d</sup> those whose feet totter !  
Tranquil are *the* tents of spoilers,  
And they who provoke El are confident,—  
Whose hand Eloah fills !<sup>e</sup>  
And yet ask now *the* beasts, and they shall teach thee,  
And the fowl of heaven, and it shall tell thee ;

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<sup>b</sup> Or, with Gesenius in Man. Lex., *now thou art ashamed, (then) shalt, etc.*

<sup>c</sup> Or, *a multitude* ; Lit., *a people*.

<sup>d</sup> Lit., (*it is*) *ready for the tottering of foot.*

<sup>e</sup> Lit., *into whose hand God hath caused to come. To whom God brings with his own hand,* Fuerst Lex., p. 94..

## CHAPTER XII. 8—22.

Or speak to the earth, and it shall teach thee,  
And *the* fishes of the sea shall declare *it* to thee ;  
Which of all these knows not,  
That Jehovah's hand hath done this ?  
In whose hand is *the* soul of every living *thing*,  
And *the* breath of all flesh of man.

Doth not *the* ear test words,  
As *the* palate tastes its food ?  
With the aged *is* wisdom,  
And length<sup>f</sup> of days *is* understanding :—  
But with HIM, wisdom and might,  
Counsel and understanding, His !  
Lo ! He breaks down, and it cannot be rebuilt ;  
He shuts a man up, and he cannot be loosed ;  
Lo ! He withholds the waters, and they dry up,  
When He sends them forth, they subvert *the* earth.  
With Him *is* might and wisdom,  
*The* deceived and deceiver, His ;  
He leads away counsellors spoiled,<sup>g</sup>  
And makes judges foolish ;  
He loosens *the* bond of kings,<sup>h</sup>  
And binds a cord upon their *own* loins ;  
He leads away chiefs spoiled,  
And overthrows *the* strong ;  
He deprives speakers of eloquence,  
And takes away *the* judgment of *the* aged ;  
He pours contempt on princes,  
And loosens *the* belt of *the* mighty ;  
He lays bare deep things out of darkness,  
And brings forth *the* death-shadow to light ;

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<sup>f</sup> Or, (*with*) *length*.

<sup>g</sup> Lit., *stripped* ; perh., *barefoot*.

<sup>h</sup> i. e., that which they bind on others.

## CHAPTER XII. 23—XIII. 12.

He enlarges nations, and destroys them,  
Spreads nations abroad—then leads them *captive* ;  
He takes away *the* understanding of *the* chiefs of *the* people  
of the earth,  
And makes them wander in a pathless waste.  
They grope the darkness *where there is* no light ;  
And he makes them wander like a drunken *man*.

Lo ! all *this* mine eye hath seen,  
Mine ear heard, and understood it :  
As ye know, know I also,  
I fall not *short* of you.  
But I,—to Shaddai would I speak,  
And with El I desire to reason ;  
Whilst ye—*are* forgers<sup>i</sup> of lies,  
Worthless healers,<sup>j</sup> all of ye !  
Would that ye would be wholly silent,  
And it would be to you for wisdom !  
Hear now my reasoning,  
And attend to *the* pleadings of my lips.  
For El will ye speak iniquity,  
And for Him will ye speak falsehood ?  
Will ye accept His person,  
And plead on behalf of El ?  
*Will it be* well when He searches you out ?  
Can ye mock Him as a frail man is mocked ?  
Surely will He chastise you,  
If in secret ye regard persons !  
Shall not His majesty alarm you,  
And *the* fear of Him fall upon you ?  
Your sayings are maxims of ashes,  
Your defences are defences of clay ;

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<sup>i</sup> Or, framers ; lit., patchers of vanity.<sup>j</sup> Or, physicians.

## CHAPTER XIII. 13—27.

Be silent before<sup>†</sup> me, that I may speak,  
And let what may befall me :  
Come what may, I will take my flesh in my teeth,  
And put my life in my hand.  
Lo ! He may slay me—I may cease to hope—  
Yet to His face will I defend my ways :  
He, too, shall be my deliverance,  
For a hypocrite cannot come into His presence.  
Hearken heedfully to my discourse,  
And *let* my utterance *enter* into your ears ;  
Behold now, I have set *my* cause in order,  
I know that I am not guilty ;  
Who *is* he *that* can plead against me ?  
Then should I be silent and expire.  
Only do not Thou two *things* with me,  
Then will I not hide myself from Thy presence ;  
Remove far thine hand from upon me,  
And let not Thy terrors fright me ;  
Then accuse Thou, and I will answer,  
Or I will speak, and respond Thou to me.  
How many are my iniquities and sins ?  
My transgression and my sin make known to me.  
Why hidest Thou thy face,  
And deemest me Thy foe ?  
Wilt Thou terrify a driven leaf ?  
Wilt Thou chase the dry chaff ?  
For Thou recordest bitter things against me,  
And entailest on me *the* sins of my youth ;  
And Thou settest my feet in the stocks,  
And watchest all my paths,  
And trenchest for Thyself about<sup>‡</sup> the soles<sup>™</sup> of my feet ;

<sup>†</sup> Heb., *from*.<sup>‡</sup> Lit., *hast digged*, or *circumscribed*.<sup>™</sup> Heb., *roots*.

## CHAPTER XIII. 28—XIV. 13.

And he as rottenness wastes away,  
Like a garment *the* moth has eaten.

Man, born of woman,  
Short of days, and sated with disquiet,\*  
Comes forth like a flower and is cut down,  
And flees like a shadow, and abides not ;  
Yet on such *a one* dost Thou set open thine eyes ?  
And wilt Thou bring me into judgment with Thee ?  
Oh for a clean out of an unclean !  
*There is* not one !

If his days *are* determined—  
*If the* number of his months *is* with Thee—  
*If* Thou hast set his bounds that he cannot overpass,

Look away from him that he may have a respite,  
Till, like a hireling, he enjoy his day of *rest*.

For there is hope of a tree,  
That if felled, it will sprout again,  
And its tender-branch not fail ;

Though its root in the earth wax old,  
And its stock in the soil die,

Yet will it bud at *the* scent of water,  
And make boughs like a plant ;

But man<sup>e</sup> dies, and is brought down,  
Man breathes his last ; and where *is* he ?

Waters pass away from a lake,  
And a stream is parched up and dries ;

So man lies down and rises not,  
Till *the* heavens *be* no more they shall not awake,  
Nor be aroused from their sleep.

Oh that Thou wouldst hide me in Sheol,  
Wouldst conceal me till thine anger turn,  
Wouldst appoint me a set-time and *then* remember me !

---

\* Or, *full of unrest*.° Perh., *strong-man*.

## CHAPTER XIV. 14.—XV. 4.

(If a man die, shall he live again?)

All *the* days of that hard-service<sup>p</sup> would I wait  
Till my change<sup>q</sup> came ;

Thou shalt call, and I will answer Thee,  
Thou wilt pine after *the* work of Thy hands.

But now Thou countest my steps—  
Dost Thou not keep watch over my sin ?

My transgression is sealed up in a bag,  
And Thou sewest up my iniquity.<sup>r</sup>

But, in sooth, a mountain falling, crumbles away,  
And a rock is removed from its place ;

Waters wear down stones,—

Their floods wash away *the* soil of earth,—  
So destroyest Thou *the* hope of mortal-man ;

Thou overpowerest him for aye, and he passes hence,  
Thou changest his aspect,<sup>s</sup> and sendest him away ;

His sons attain to honour, but he knows it not ;  
Or they are brought low, but he perceives them not :

Only his *own* flesh will feel pain for him,  
And his spirit mourn for him.

Then answered Eliphaz the Temanite, and said :

Should a sage reply *with* windy lore,<sup>t</sup>  
And *with* east-wind fill his belly ?

Reasoning with talk that cannot profit,  
And words with which *one* can do no good ?

Nay, more, thou dost break down piety,<sup>u</sup>  
And takest away devotion before El ;

<sup>p</sup> Comp. vii. 1.

<sup>q</sup> Lit., *exchange*. He compares himself in Hades to a soldier on duty waiting to be *relieved*.

<sup>r</sup> Or, with Gesenius and Fuerst, *thou stitchest upon my iniquity others in addition*; i. e., augmentest my sins by false accusations.

<sup>s</sup> Heb., *face*.      <sup>t</sup> Heb., *knowledge of wind*.      <sup>u</sup> Heb., *fear (of God)*.

## CHAPTER XV. 5—19.

Surely thine *own* mouth teaches thy iniquity,  
Though thou choosest *the* tongue of *the* subtle ;  
Thine *own* mouth, and not I, convicts thee,  
And thine *own* lips witness against thee.  
Thou *the* first man born ?  
And thou brought forth before *the* hills ?  
Hast thou listened in Eloah's council ?  
And dost thou reserve\* wisdom to thyself ?  
What knowest thou which we know not ?  
Understandest—and it is not with us ?  
Among us *are* both gray and aged,  
More full of days than thy sire :  
Are *the* consolations of El<sup>w</sup> too little for thee,  
And a word *which* he has spoken softly with thee ?  
Why does thy heart carry thee away ?  
And at what do thine eyes sparkle ?  
That thou turnest thy spirit against El,  
And utterest *such* speeches from thy mouth ?  
What *is* frail-man, that he should be pure,  
And *the* woman-born, that he should be righteous ?  
Lo, he distrusts<sup>r</sup> his Holy Ones,  
And *the* heavens are not pure in His eyes ;—  
Much more is loathsome and unclean,  
Man, who drinks in iniquity like water.  
I will shew thee ; hearken to me ;—  
For this have I seen and will declare,  
That which sages relate,  
Nor conceal it, from their fathers' *teaching* ;  
To whom, alone, the earth was given ;  
Nor passed a stranger through their midst :

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\* Or, as in verse 4, *take away, purloin.*

\* Perhaps, *divine*, or, *strong consolations*, in allusion to verses 17—21.

\* That is, *Is not sure of their perfection.*

## CHAPTER XV. 20—32.

*That* all his days doth *the* wicked torment himself,  
*Through the* many years reserved to the oppressor :

A sound<sup>a</sup> of terrors *is* in his ears,  
 In peace *itself the* spoiler comes on him ;

He is never sure that he shall come back out of darkness,  
 And watched is he for *the* sword ;

He wanders about for bread—"Where is it?"  
 Knows that a day of darkness is ready at his hand ;

Distress and anguish scare him,  
 Like a king ready for battle<sup>c</sup> they overpower him.

For he stretched out his hand against El ;  
 And strengthened himself against Shaddai ;

He ran against Him with *defiant* neck,  
 With *the* thick bosses of his shields.

For he covered his face with his fatness,  
 And made thick-fat upon *his* flank,

Therefore he dwells in desolate cities,  
 In houses which none can inhabit,  
 Destined to become heaps *of ruins* ;

He shall not be rich nor his substance last,  
 Nor shall their flocks spread abroad in the earth ;<sup>a</sup>

Out of darkness he shall not depart,  
 A flame shall parch up his branch,  
 And at *the* breath of *God's* mouth shall he depart.

Let not *the* misled trust in vanity,  
 For vanity<sup>b</sup> shall be his recompense ;

Ere his day *is spent*, it<sup>c</sup> shall be fulfilled,  
 And his top-branch shall not be green :

<sup>a</sup> Heb., *voice*.

<sup>a</sup> Lit., *circumvallation, siege*.

<sup>c</sup> Or, *nor shall their wealth bend down to the earth* like full ears of corn, or boughs laden with fruit.

<sup>b</sup> *Vanity* has a double sense in Heb.; viz., *evil* and *calamity*.

<sup>c</sup> That is, the retribution.



## CHAPTER XV. 33—XVI. 10.

Like the vine he shall shake off his sour grape,  
And cast his flower like the olive.  
For *the* household of a hypocrite shall be barrenness,  
And fire shall devour *the* tents of bribery ;  
He conceives mischief, and brings forth crime ;  
Yea, their inward-parts<sup>d</sup> prepare deceit.

Then answered Job, and said :

Many *such* things as these have I heard ;  
Troublesome<sup>e</sup> comforters *are* ye all !  
Will there be an end to *these* windy words ?  
Or what provokes thee to answer *thus* ?  
I too could speak on like you,  
If you were in my place ;  
I might make a league with words against you,  
I might move my head at you *as in condolence* ;  
I might strengthen you with my mouth,  
And the movement of my lips might restrain *your grief*.  
*But now*, though I speak, my grief is not restrained,  
And *if* I forbear, what of it departs ?  
Truly, now hath He worn me out ;  
Thou hast desolated all my household,  
And Thou hast seized upon me ;  
My leanness has become a witness and rises up against me,  
It makes answer, to my *very* face :  
His wrath has torn, and persecutes me ;  
He gnashed at me with His teeth ;  
My foe sharpens His eyes against me :  
They have opened wide their mouths against me,  
They have smitten me on the cheek reproachfully,  
They have gathered themselves together against me.

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<sup>d</sup> Heb., *their belly*.

<sup>e</sup> Or, *wearisome*.

## CHAPTER XVI. 11—XVII. 2.

El shuts me up unto an evil man,  
And casts me forth into *the* hands of wicked ones ;  
I was at ease, and He crushed me to pieces,  
And He seized me by my neck and dashed me to atoms,  
And set me up as His butt ;  
His archers surround me,  
He cleaves my side and spares not,  
He sheds my gall upon the ground ;  
He breaches me with breach on breach,  
He rushes on me like a mighty man.  
I have sewn sackcloth on my skin,  
And have thrust my horn into the dust ;  
My face is red with weeping,  
And death-shadow is on my eyelids,  
Though *there is* no wrong in my hands,—  
And my prayer *has been* pure.  
Earth, cover not my blood,  
And let there be no place for my cry !  
Also now, behold ! my witness *is* in heaven,  
And He who bears testimony to me, on high.  
My friends *are* my mockers !  
Mine eye sheds tears unto Eloah,  
That one might plead for a man with Eloah,  
As a son of man pleads for his fellow ;  
For a few years<sup>f</sup> will come,  
And I shall travel *the* road *by which* I shall not return.

My breath is destroyed,  
My days are extinguished ;  
For me the tombs !  
Are there not mockings with me ?  
Yea, mine eye dwells on their provokings.

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<sup>f</sup> Lit., *years of number*, easily counted years.

## CHAPTER XVII. 3—16.

Put down *pledges* now ; be Thou surety for me with thyself ;  
Who else will strike hands for me ?

For Thou hast hid their heart<sup>o</sup> from understanding,  
Therefore Thou wilt not exalt them *above me*.

He who betrays his friends to the spoiler,  
The eyes of his sons shall waste away.

He has set me up as a proverb to the people,  
I am become one in whose face they spit ;<sup>a</sup>

And mine eye has become dim through vexation,  
And my limbs, all of them like a shadow.

At this *the* upright are astonished,  
And *the* innocent rouses himself up against *the* impious ;  
But *the* righteous shall hold fast his way,  
And *the* pure of hands increase strength.

And yet, all of you return,<sup>i</sup> and come on now,  
And I shall not find a wise man among you.

My days have passed away,  
And my purposes are broken off,  
My most cherished thoughts ;<sup>j</sup>

*And yet my* night would they make day,  
Light *to be* near in *the* face of darkness ;

If I tarry, Sheol my abode !  
I shall have spread my bed in darkness ;  
To the grave have cried, " My father thou !"  
" My mother !" and " my sister !" to the worm.

And where then is my hope ?  
Yes, my hope, who can see it ?

To the gates of Sheol shall it go down ;  
When in *the* dust *is* wholly rest.

<sup>o</sup> The heart of my pretended comforters.

<sup>a</sup> Lit., *I am become spittle on faces*, i. e., an aversion.

<sup>i</sup> Desist from false charges and weak arguments. Renan, however, supposes that the friends, irritated by Job's vehemence, had made a show of retiring.

<sup>j</sup> Lit., (*the*) possession of my heart.

## CHAPTER XVIII. 1—14.

Then answered Bildad the Shuchite, and said :

When will ye make an end of words?  
 Consider—and after let us speak.  
 Why are we counted as the beast,  
 Held unclean in your eyes?  
 Oh thou that rendest thyself in thine anger!<sup>\*</sup>  
 For thee shall *the* earth be forsaken,  
 And *the* rock remove out of its place?  
 Yes, *the* light of *the* wicked shall be put out,  
 And *the* flame of his fire shall not shine;  
 In his tent *the* light shall become darkness,  
 And his lamp *that is* over him shall be put out;  
 His mighty strides<sup>†</sup> shall be straitened,  
 And his *own* counsel cast him down;  
 For his feet shall be thrust into a net,<sup>‡</sup>  
 And he shall walk, of himself, upon meshes;  
 A trap shall catch *him* by the heel,  
 And a snare seize upon him;  
 Concealed in the ground his noose,  
 And his gin upon *the* path;  
 Terrors shall scare him all around,  
 Follow his footsteps and harass him;<sup>§</sup>  
 Famished shall be his strength,  
 And destruction *be* ready at his side;  
 The first-born of death shall devour his limbs,  
 Shall devour the limbs of his body;<sup>||</sup>  
 His confidence shall be torn away from his tent,  
 And thou shalt bring him to *the* king of terrors;<sup>¶</sup>

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<sup>\*</sup> Lit., *tearing himself in his anger!*      <sup>†</sup> Lit., *the steps of his strength.*

<sup>‡</sup> Lit., *he is thrust into a net by his feet.*

<sup>§</sup> Lit., *scatter, agitate, him at his feet;* i. e., where he sets his feet.

<sup>||</sup> This line is first in the couplet in the original.

<sup>¶</sup> A personification of death. Comp. *ὁ κῆρος ἔχει θανάτου*, Heb. ii. 9; or perhaps Abaddon, Rev. ix. 11.

## CHAPTER XVIII. 15—XIX. 7.

They shall dwell in the tent, no longer his,<sup>†</sup>  
 Brimstone shall be scattered on his abode ;  
 His roots shall be dried up beneath,  
 And his branch be lopped above ;  
 The remembrance of him shall perish from *the* earth,  
 And he *shall have* no name in *the* street ;  
 They shall thrust him from light into darkness,  
 And chase him out of the world ;  
 He *shall have* no offspring nor progeny<sup>‡</sup> among his people,  
 And no survivor in his dwellings ;  
 Posterity shall be astonished at his day,  
 And the ancients are seized with horror ;<sup>§</sup>  
 Surely these *are the* dwellings of the wicked,  
 And such *the* place of *him* who knew not El.

Then answered Job, and said :

How long will ye grieve my soul,  
 And break me in pieces with words ?  
 These ten times have ye insulted me :—  
 Shameless that ye are, ye wrong me !  
 And be it, in sooth, that I have erred,  
 With myself let my error rest.  
 If truly ye will magnify yourselves against me,  
 And plead my reproach against me,  
 Know then that Eloah has wrested my cause,<sup>†</sup>  
 And has environed me with his net.  
 Lo, I exclaim at *my* wrong, but am not answered ;  
 I cry aloud, but *there is* no justice :

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<sup>†</sup> i. e., the terrors. Lit., *it* (i. e., each terror) *shall dwell in his tent without (its being) to him.*

<sup>‡</sup> Lit., *sprig nor sprout.*

<sup>§</sup> Lit., *laid hold on horror.*

<sup>§</sup> Lit., *hath wrested me.*

## CHAPTER XIX. 8—21.

He has hedged up my way that I cannot pass,  
And has set darkness on my paths ;  
He has stripped off my glory from me,  
And has taken away the diadem from my head ;  
He breaks me down on every side, so that I pass away,  
And has plucked up my hope like a tree ;  
And He has kindled His wrath against me,  
And reckoned me as *one of* his foes ;  
His troops advance together,  
And they throw up their causeway against me,  
And encamp around my tent.  
He has removed my brethren far away,  
And my acquaintance are verily estranged from me ;  
My kinsmen have failed,  
And my familiars have forgotten me ;  
The inmates of my house and my maidens count me for a  
stranger..  
I am become an alien in their eyes ;  
I call to my servant, but he will not answer,  
*Though* I implore him with my *own* mouth ;  
My breath is become strange to my wife,  
And my caresses to *the* sons of my body ;  
The children too despise me,  
When I rise up, they speak against me ;  
All my intimates\* abhor me,  
And such as I love are turned against me ;  
My bone cleaves to my skin and to my flesh,  
And with *the* skin *only* of my teeth am I escaped ;—  
Pity me, pity me, O ye my friends,  
For Eloah's hand has touched me !

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\* Lit., *men of my counsel*.

## CHAPTER XIX. 22—XX. 5.

Why should ye persecute me, like El,  
And not be satisfied with my flesh?\*

Would then that my words were written down,  
Would that they were graven in a book!

With pen of iron, and lead,  
Cut out in the rock for aye,

That I know my Goel<sup>v</sup> lives,  
And that He shall arise, *the* Last, upon *the* earth;

Even after my body<sup>z</sup> has been shattered, this *shall be*,  
And in my flesh shall I see Eloah,

Whom I shall see for myself,  
And mine eyes shall behold, and not a stranger;—  
*For Him* my reins pine away within me!

For ye say, let us follow hard upon him,  
And discover in him the root of the matter.<sup>y</sup>

Beware ye of *the* sword: for wrath is a crime for the sword;<sup>z</sup>  
*This*, that ye may know there is a judgment.

Then answered Tsophar the Naamathite, and said:

Yet my thoughts cause me to reply,  
And on this account *is* my haste within me;

I hear a chiding to my shame,  
But *the* spirit of my understanding furnishes me with an  
answer.

Knowest thou *not* this of old,  
Since man was placed upon *the* earth,  
That brief is *the* joy-shout of the wicked,  
And *the* rejoicing of *the* impious, for a moment?

\* Lit., *from*; or, *with my flesh*. (Thus verse 26) *i. e.*, be satisfied with these woes of my body.

<sup>v</sup> Lit., *Blood-avenger, Vindicator*; *i. e.*, God will vindicate me soon upon this very earth, though ye all fail and persecute me, and will restore me.

<sup>z</sup> Lit., *they have shattered my skin*.

<sup>y</sup> That is, The cause of his suffering.

<sup>z</sup> Fuerst renders, *for numerous are the sins of the sword*, Lex., p. 457.

## CHAPTER XX. 6—21.

Though his height mount up to the heavens,  
And his head touch the cloud,  
Like his *own* ordure shall he perish for ever ;  
They that saw him shall say, " Where *is* he ?"  
Like a dream shall he fly away, and not be found,  
He shall flit like a vision of the night ;  
*The* eye that looked on him shall do so no more,  
Nor his place again behold him ;  
His children shall court the poor,  
And his hands shall restore their substance.  
*Though* his bones are full of his youth,  
It shall yet lie down with him in the dust ;  
Though wickedness be sweet in his mouth,  
So that he hide it under his tongue,  
So that he spare it, and would not leave it,  
But keeps it in his mid palate,  
*Yet* is his food turned in his bowels,  
*It is* gall of asps within him ;  
He swallowed down riches, and shall disgorge them,  
El will drive them out of his belly :—  
He sucked the poison of asps—  
The viper's tongue shall slay him.  
He shall not see *the* rivers,  
*The* streaming brooks<sup>a</sup> of honey and butter ;  
*That for which* he toiled shall he restore and not devour,  
As *the* wealth, so its retribution,<sup>b</sup> and he shall not rejoice.  
Because he crushed, forsook the poor,  
Seized upon a house which he did not build ;  
Because quiet was unknown within him—  
With his delight shall he not escape.  
Not a remnant from his food !  
Therefore his good fortune shall not be stable ;

<sup>a</sup> Lit., *Streams of the brooks*.<sup>b</sup> Or, *its restitution*.



## CHAPTER XX. 22—XXI. 6.

In *the* fulness of his abundance shall he be straitened,  
Every stroke<sup>c</sup> of the wretched shall come upon him.

There shall be food to fill his belly,—  
God shall send on him his burning wrath,  
And shall rain *it* upon him in his eating.

If he flee from a weapon of iron,  
A bow of brass shall pierce him ;

If *one* draw *it* out, and it comes forth from his body,  
And *the* glittering arrow from his gall,  
Yet *fresh* terrors shall be upon him ;

All darkness is laid up for his treasures,  
A fire not blown up *by man* shall devour him,  
Shall consume *what is* left in his tent.

The Heavens shall reveal his iniquity,  
And earth rises up against him ;

The increase of his house shall depart,  
Its riches,<sup>d</sup> in the day of His anger.

This *the* portion of wicked man from Elohim,  
And his decreed inheritance from El.

Then answered Job, and said :

Hearken heedfully to my discourse,  
And let this be *the* consolation you afford me !<sup>e</sup>

Bear *with* me, and I will speak,  
And after my speaking thou mayest mock.

As for me, *was* my complaint to man ?  
And if *so*, why should not my temper be short ?

Look at me, and be astonished,  
And place hand on mouth :

Even if I think on it, then am I perturbed,  
And trembling seizes on my flesh :—

<sup>c</sup> Lit., *every hand*; i. e., *blow* which befalls the wretched.

<sup>d</sup> Thus Gosenius, al., *flowing away*.

<sup>e</sup> Lit., *Your consolations*.

## CHAPTER XXI. 7—21.

Why live on *the* wicked—

Wax old, aye, become mighty *in* power?

Their seed is stablished in their presence with them,

And their issue before their eyes ;

Their houses *are* safe from fear,

Neither is Eloah's rod upon them ;

Their bull impregnates, and does not fail,

Their cow calves, and does not miscarry ;

They send forth their little ones like a flock,

And their children skip for joy ;

They uplift *their voice* to timbrel and harp,

And rejoice at sound of pipe ;

They wear away their days amid pleasures,

And go down to Sheol in a moment ;<sup>f</sup>

And they say to El, " Depart from us,

For we desire not knowledge of thy ways ;

" What *is* Shaddai that we should serve Him ?

And what will it profit us if we make our suit to Him ?"

*But* see, their prosperity is not in their own hand ;—

Far from me be *the* counsel of *the* wicked !

How oft is *the* lamp of *the* wicked put out,

And their destruction comes upon them !

*The* woes he apports in His anger !

They become like straw before the blast,

And as chaff which *the* storm bears off !<sup>g</sup>

*Say ye*, " Eloah lays up His affliction for His children ?"

Let him requite *the man* himself, that he may take knowledge ;

His own eyes shall behold his calamity,

And he should drink of *the* wrath of Shaddai ;—

For what cares he about his house after him,

And when *the* number of his months is cut short ?

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<sup>f</sup> i. e., they have no lingering sickness.

<sup>g</sup> Heb., *steals, snatches away*.

## CHAPTER XXI. 22—32.

*But ye say, "Shall a man teach El knowledge,  
Since it is He who shall judge the lofty ones?"*<sup>a</sup>

One dies in his welfare itself,  
Wholly at ease and tranquil;  
His loins are full of fat,  
And *the* marrow of his bones is moistened;  
And another dies with bitter soul,  
And has never tasted pleasure;<sup>i</sup>  
They lie down together in *the* dust,  
And *the* worm covers them.

Behold, I know your thoughts,  
And *the* devices wherewith ye do me wrong;  
For ye say, "Where is *the* prince's house?<sup>j</sup>  
And where *the* tent, *the* habitations, of wicked men?"  
Have ye never asked men of travel?  
—And what they point out, disdain not—  
That *the* wicked is spared in *the* day of calamity,  
In *the* day *when* wrath is brought on:  
Who will tell him to his face, of his ways?  
And who will requite him, when he has done *amiss*?—  
And he is borne to the tombs *with pomp*,  
And watch will be kept over the pile;<sup>k</sup>

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<sup>a</sup> That is, *the high-minded*; or, *angels*. This verse, and verse 19 above, are objections supposed to be raised by the three friends of Job, and to which Job replies by adducing facts to confute them.

<sup>i</sup> Heb., *eaten good*.

<sup>j</sup> The house of Job, who had lived like a prince. The argument seems to be—I am not thus prosperous and spared to go down to my grave in pomp, and therefore am not wicked.

<sup>k</sup> Renan understands this of his statue erected, according to Egyptian custom, over the tomb, and seeming, as it were, to watch over it. But see Ges. Thesaur. p. 1473, 1.

## CHAPTER XXI. 34—XXII. 11.

*The* clods of *the* valley<sup>1</sup> are sweet to him,  
And he shall draw every man after him,  
As they are numberless who preceded him.<sup>m</sup>

But how can ye comfort me with *that which is* vain?  
And *as for* your answers, there remains *only* untruth.

Then answered Eliphaz the Temanite, and said :

Can a man profit El?

Surely *even* a wise man can profit himself *alone* !

If thou art righteous, is it any concern to Shaddai?

Or a gain *to Him* that thou perfectest thy ways?

Does He dispute with thee out of reverence for thee—

Enter with thee into judgment ?

Is not thy wickedness great,

And thine iniquities without end ?

For, without a cause hast thou bound thy brethren by a pledge,

And stripped *the* naked of their clothing ;

Not a drink of water hast thou given to *the* weary,

And hast withheld bread from *the* famishing ;

And the strong of arm<sup>n</sup>—the earth *was* his !

And *the* lofty of brow—he its inhabitant !

Widows didst thou send empty away,

And crushed were *the* arms of orphans ;—

Therefore are snares around thee,

And fear, on a sudden, troubles thee ;

Or a darkness, that thou canst not see,

And a flood of waters covers thee.

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<sup>1</sup> In which the mausoleum is built ; or the *hollow* of the grave itself.

<sup>m</sup> This may refer to the funeral procession ; or to the encouragement given by the death of the wicked in his prosperity, to men in general to follow him.

<sup>n</sup> Lit., *the man of arms*, and in the next clause, *the uplifted of countenance*, i. e., Job, as an unjust and oppressive judge, or man in authority.

## CHAPTER XXII. 12—25.

Is not Eloah *in* the height of heaven?  
 And behold the topmost stars,<sup>o</sup> how lofty they are!  
 Yet thou sayest, "What can El know?  
 Can He judge through the darkness?"

"Clouds are a covering to Him that He cannot see,  
 And He walks *only* the vault of Heaven."

Wilt thou keep *that* ancient way,  
 Which men of sin have trodden?

Who were snatched away before *their* time—  
 Whose foundation *became* a flowing stream?"

Who said to El, "Depart from us;  
 And what can Shaddai do for us?"<sup>†</sup>

Yet He filled their houses with good *things*—  
 Far from me be the counsel of the wicked!

*The* righteous shall see it and rejoice,  
 And *the* innocent shall laugh at them, *saying*,

"Are not our adversaries destroyed?  
 And a fire has devoured their substance."

Become acquainted now with Him and prosper;  
 Therein shall good come to thee.

Take now a law from His mouth,  
 And put His words in thy heart:

If thou wilt return to Shaddai, thou shalt be built up,  
*If* thou wilt put iniquity far from thy tents—

Yea, set down *thy* gold-ore upon the ground,  
 And Ophir among pebbles of *the* brooks;

And Shaddai shall be thy gold-ore,  
 And treasures<sup>r</sup> of silver to thee.

<sup>o</sup> Lit., (*the*) *head* (or *summit*) of (*the*) *stars*, *that they (are) high*.

<sup>†</sup> Lit., *a stream poured forth*; i. e., leaving no trace.

<sup>r</sup> Heb., *for them*.

<sup>r</sup> Al., *brightness*.

(To be continued.)

**SCHENKEL ON CHRISTIANITY AND THE CHURCH.\***

THE author of these essays on *Christianity and the Church* is a professor of theology in Heidelberg. About three years ago he caused considerable excitement in that university—and, indeed, in the whole duchy of Baden—by a work entitled *Characterbild Jesu*—"A representation of the person of Christ," as it appeared to the author. In that essay he chooses to regard St. Mark's gospel as the only authentic record of our Lord's life; and the miracles there narrated are, of course, in his view, only myths which had their origin in the imagination and fervid admiration of Christians for Christ's person after his death. Upon the appearance of this book—the *Characterbild*—there was a severe struggle between the clergy of the so-called liberal and orthodox parties in Baden. The latter petitioned for the removal of the professor, who was, and we believe still is, principal of the theological seminary for the training of candidates for the ministry in Baden. The other party, which is by far the strongest in the university of Heidelberg, zealously upheld Schenkel's cause, as that of free thought. And they prevailed. Dr. Schenkel is not only public professor, but also chief teacher of the future clergy of that part of Germany.

The work before us, which is to be followed by another, applying his principles more in detail to the present state of mind in Europe, more especially in Germany, is much of the same tendency as the last just mentioned. And it is difficult to see how Dr. Schenkel can answer the reproach of inconsistency which Dr. Strauss levels at him. Strauss seems offended that Schenkel has encroached on ground which belonged originally to himself; and he wonders how the Heidelberg professor, having gone so far, can stay where he is. He asks him how, having denied so much, he does not, like himself, deny the historical truth of Christianity altogether. Schenkel denies all miracles, refuses to accept the record of the greater part of our Lord's teaching—denies, in reality, though perhaps not in absolute words, the fact of his resurrection—refuses of course absolutely any weight

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\* *Christianity and the Church in Harmony with the Development of Cultivation.*  
By Dr. Daniel Schenkel.

to the account of His ascension ; and what remains, as Strauss justly enough asks him, still to be believed? What is there specific in *his* view of Christianity that he should still urge its acceptance on others, or himself be a teacher of it? The residuum of what he believes to be true is so small and so colourless, that there is really nothing on which the eye of faith can fix itself.

But we propose to examine his present treatise somewhat in detail. It is written in an attractive and popular manner ; and with a great deal which is very illogical, and, as we think, very shallow and untrue, there are mingled shrewd and just remarks on Protestant ill-founded traditions, which we Englishmen may take to ourselves, as well as his own countrymen.

The essay is addressed to the educated portion of society, who are alienated from Christianity because they think they have learnt from reflection, from science, and from experience, that all religion consists of "cunningly devised fables," fit for children, women, and the uneducated, but not worthy of the regard of thoughtful men. He draws thus the picture of that class of persons in his own country ; and we may see a reflection of a like tone of mind, which is on the increase, among ourselves, though it is not so openly avowed here as on the Continent. "You reckon yourselves among those who no longer feel any want of religion. You have once been children—spoken and dreamed as children—but you are become men. The pious feelings and imaginations of your youth, like mists before the sun, have melted on the heights of intellectual and moral freedom. That supernatural, wonderful world, which your childish fancy built, has disappeared before your experienced gaze. You are sure of having hold on the *real* world ; you can rejoice in this visible state, in the well-ordered, regular arrangement of things ; and you do not know what lies beyond it. You have not withdrawn yourselves from all observance of the outward forms of religion, you are no fanatic preachers of unbelief, you make no profession of irreligion. True, you are but rare attendants at public worship, and go only when propriety and decency require it. About the observances of the Church you trouble yourselves as little as about the controversies of theologians, or

the strife of Church parties. You let your children be baptized and confirmed,—that is, as long as by the law you are obliged to belong to some confession. But it is a matter of utter indifference to you in what creed your children are brought up. Your wives attend to that. Perhaps, on the whole, you prefer the old-fashioned orthodox clergyman or teacher to the new-fangled school, since by these means you save your children the trouble of doubts, and your family circle the annoyance of divisions. The subject of religion is scarcely in your eyes worth consideration. You are willing to leave all that to your wives. The priests and the preachers shall have no cause to attack you on this score."

Such is the writer's description of the contemptuous indifference towards religion of the more educated and thinking class among his countrymen. And to such he addresses himself, with the professed object of winning them to Christianity, by shewing its true character, which is, after all, such as thinking men should respect. He undertakes to shew how true religion and mental cultivation can be united. Truly a noble object, which is nothing less than to solve a great problem of the time. We wish the performance had been equal to the promise. If Professor Schenkel had only in the slightest degree made a contribution to this great purpose, every thoughtful Christian would owe him deepest thanks; but we shall shew that, so far from meeting this great want, he has done his utmost to prove that the indifferent sceptical men of cultivation whom he addresses have the best arguments on their side. He surrenders the whole case. He is already a convert to their view—how can he expect them to embrace his? Indeed, *what* view of Christianity has he to offer?

The first four Essays, or "Reflections," contain a sort of general introduction. They are entitled "The Nature of Religion," "The Godhead," "Revelation and Miracles," "Devotion and Morality." It is in this part of his book that we find excellent remarks, eloquently expressed, mingled with much against which we strenuously protest. Thus, on the yearning after religion which exists in all men's souls, he observes (p. 10): "You have felt, surely, oftentimes the voice of the Eternal Spirit in



your own spirit. You *have* religion, but you know it not, or perhaps are unwilling to confess it to yourselves. If *you* hold it not, it holds you, since it is indissolubly bound up in man's very being; yea, it is his most inward source of life,—the womb from which his inner nature is born. It is the secret magnet by which man, in himself isolated and solitary, is inseparably united to the Being, the common Father of all. It is the bond which joins you to the Imperishable, the Great Unconditioned, the Giver of all law. By means of it are you insured in endless life in the midst of the death shadows of this present world. *Religion is not merely a dark undefined feeling*; it is this only so long as the dust of sense obscures and quenches its holy flame. The more earnestly you knock at the gates of her sanctuary, the wider will they open to you; yea, the more cheerfully will you enter in." And further on (p. 14), "Then are you religious when you live in your inner life, and he is irreligious whoever lives only an outward life, be it one of mere sense or a formal traditional worship." "He who never throws away his conscience is never a slave. You indifferentists regard religion as the chain which acts as a drag on mankind. A grievous mistake, indeed. *The less religion the lesser freedom.*" And, in a subsequent chapter, on "Spirit and Nature" (p. 26), he controverts the materialism of the educated and scientific class, for whose benefit he supposes himself to be writing. The following extracts will give a notion both of his manner and views:—"Matter, power, spirit,—each points to the other, and each finds in the other its fulfilment. But spirit is the root of all things, the invisible creator of nature; eternally the same, while the creature is ever undergoing fresh changes. Spirit is uncreated and self-existent. Nature, and all in it, exists and perishes, and satisfies only so far as spirit reveals itself therein. Nature is the garb of spirit, sometimes seen in rags, sometimes clothed in the royal garments of majesty. But nature is never more than a covering, a form, a type, a perishable image of an imperishable Being. Only spirit and revelation are real. Matter and force, life and act, have only value and significance, because therein spirit makes itself known, and develops its eternal existence. Man, even, is dust, and nothing without spirit."

We will give one more extract from the chapter of "Spirit above Nature." "You scientific sceptics say in the laws of nature there is manifested no free over-ruling will. You regard these laws as the expression of an irrational necessity. But so nature would be blind, the creature of chance, without a plan. But are not, on the contrary, the laws of nature indicative of a plan and object in the highest degree? They are unchangeable, because they need no improvement, because they are perfect. They are perfect, because the product of the most perfect reason and the highest design. Because God is unchangeable, therefore also are the laws of nature unchangeable. But this unchangeableness is not the stillness of death, but the fulness of life. Yea, in the laws of nature themselves is revealed the living Divine Spirit, and the regulations of the world are the expression of His attributes and purposes. Therefore, nature does not speak to us in the inarticulate language of irrational elements, but in the speech of divine wisdom. Her phenomena and laws are the expression of an eternal all-wise Will, whose purposes we revere even where they remain hidden from our finite understanding. Therefore, we are not afraid of the results of scientific inquiries that they will shake faith in God. Superficial, not deep, investigations are dangerous to religion. The less the inquirer finds himself able to explain this world from nature the more will he find himself forced to recognize a supernatural First Cause; the more unsatisfactory materialism is in a scientific point of view, the more indispensable the belief in spirit. The world is the temple of the living God. God is the eternal, infinite Spirit, from everlasting to everlasting. The world is a temple of His glory and goodness, the mountains are the pillars of His power, the streams the veins of life, the sea the womb of renewal, the sun the source of life, the stars the emblems of the boundlessness of creation, etc. Religion and reason equally point to the belief in the indissoluble union of God and the world, in which spirit is the Being of nature,—nature its outward form. The supernaturalism of spirit by no means disturbs the unity of the world—a visible and an invisible world belong to the necessary order of this union."

There is much of the same kind in these first two "Reflec-

tions," on "The Essence of Religion," and on "The Godhead," to which we can gladly give our assent. Schenkel upholds distinctly the personality of God in opposition to the Pantheism and Materialism of those whom he supposes himself to be addressing. But we cannot reconcile these notions of a personal God, as we cannot agree with Schenkel's ideas on the nature and impossibility of miracles. He says (p. 39), "If we consider carefully the usual notion of miracles, we shall see that it supposes not merely an action of God's power on the world, which is not only a *suspension* of the laws of nature and the connection of the universe, but actually a contradiction of them. If God sees himself under the necessity, in order to reveal His true nature, of setting aside His own laws, then these latter cannot really *be of Divine origin*. Nature and revelation are, according to this customary view of miracles, in irreconcilable opposition. If we had simply the knowledge of the ordinary course of nature and the world, then there would be no sufficient reason for belief in a personal God. Only from the circumstance that the supernatural arm of God from time to time, at particular epochs of the world's history, interferes with the regular course of events, and in the place of the natural working of things, introduces supernatural acts of His power, can our faith in the living God, according to this view, gain any degree of certainty. It is undeniable that, with such a conception as this, belief in the personality of God depends on the supposition of a twofold and opposite manifestation in nature and the world." Such a conclusion seems to us most deniable. It is surely conceivable that there may be laws of the universe, with which we are not acquainted, which, existing in the Divine mind, the source of all law, may be brought into operation, and produce effects that have to us the appearance of miracles—*i. e.*, they are cases exceptional from the ordinary, and only *so far* irregular or against the common laws of nature. And, without being driven, as Schenkel and others like him urge, to suppose a twofold power at work—one according to law, the other suspending law—we can imagine one power exerted to bring out results different from those we commonly observe. The Supreme Ruler of the universe, who is an All-wise *Δεσπότης*, can

surely be supposed capable of governing His world according to law, and not in slavish subjection to it. A personal God means a living Hand and Eye, not a mere system once set to work, and made to go on without possibility of His regulation of it. And believing in the supreme power and the all-wise will of the Lawgiver, a Christian can yet subscribe to the reverence which is justly demanded for the laws of nature. "It is false piety," he observes, "to despise the law of nature, and to regard the course of the world as something not religious. It is genuine piety to worship the Divine reason in the laws of nature, and to reverence the Divine plan of a holy God in its development in the history of the world. It is irreverent to regard the laws of nature and of the universe as mere rigid unmoveable rules, which point to no higher supernatural source. It is reverent to regard them as reflexes of law and order, which emanate from the highest reason." With just views such as these every Christian can agree, but they do not seem compatible with Schenkel's own notions about miracles. He must suppose two things, neither of which is capable of proof, that we know *all* the laws of the universe, and that God does work according to an immoveable rigid system.

His view of the origin of miraculous narrative is the present prevailing one among the so-called rationalistic party in Germany. The old theory of Paulus and others in the early part of this century is utterly repudiated. Those older rationalists tried the plan of explaining the miraculous accounts from mere natural causes,—as, for instance, the dividing of the Red Sea was the natural effect of certain minds, or the seeming raising of the dead was brought about by skilful means of raising people out of trances and the like. But this plan was found to be very irrational and absurd, and to involve the maintainers in greater perplexity than the old-fashioned belief in the reality of miracles. So it is altogether abandoned by the present school to which Schenkel belongs. He holds something of the view propounded years ago by Strauss, but now abandoned by him for a more complete (and certainly more logical) disbelief in the historical narrative of the Bible altogether. After recounting several of the miracles narrated in the Old Testament, "These miracles,

which we have just recounted, *did not really happen*; they are the *inventions of a pious imagination*, which, under the influence of a *childlike religiousness*, clothed the *supernatural power of spirit, more especially of the Divine Spirit in the form of sensible facts*. In this way has arisen the pious legend, the so-called myth, which is not the arbitrary or sectarian invention of individuals, but the involuntary natural product of the *religious spirit of mankind*." (The italics are the writer's, not ours.) This being his view of the origin of the miraculous narratives, it is easy to see how Schenkel would dismiss the miracles of the Old Testament. They are only the childlike expressions of the religious feelings and imagination of a childlike age. They are not meant to deceive, far less are they meant to be received as facts. They are mere poetry. He does not tell us how we are to separate the historical facts which are so interwoven with the miraculous narrative, nor does he assist us in forming an opinion as to the degree of credence to be allowed them according to his theory. But he thus sums up the religious character of the Old Testament: "A refreshing truthfulness pervades almost all its pages, and the truth is adorned with graceful imagery. But *one* truth forms the centre of all others,—that a holy and just, but merciful and gracious God, rules over the destinies of mankind, and that behind the veil of this visible, changeable, too often unsatisfying world, there lies an eternal unchangeable kingdom, with imperishable blessings, for the sake of which alone it is worth while to live and to work, to struggle and to suffer, to hope and to overcome."

We may well conclude from the foregoing examples of his criticism, what would be Schenkel's way of dealing with the New Testament. In this country hitherto Biblical criticism has contented itself with calling in question the accuracy of the Old Testament, and the subject has been regarded chiefly as a matter of historical interest. But Schenkel, and others of his school, examine and question with quite as little scruple the miracles and the narrative in the Gospel history. We said, in the beginning of our article, that in his former work, the *Characterbild Christi*, Schenkel chose to regard the Gospel according to St. Mark as the chief source of the history of our Lord's life. He

remarks in his present treatise (p. 149) as follows: "Whatever may be the views of critics respecting the date and the value and the credibility of our present Gospels, there is a general agreement that *one*, and that the oldest narrative, composed about twenty or thirty years after the Master's death, forms the groundwork of all the after evangelical history. That narrative no longer exists in its original form, but there are weighty reasons for believing that our present second Gospel is a later work founded on this first, and that it was written in Rome. A number of outward and inward proofs unite in pointing out to the original character of this Gospel. Such are an ancient assertion on the subject by Papias of Hierapolis; its simplicity of arrangement, its clearness of expression, its brevity of narration, the absence of the earlier history of Jesus and of the more detailed accounts of the resurrection, the omission of continuous discourses by our Lord, the prominence given to his human character, and the moderation in adornment of the whole. The first and third Evangelists, without being acquainted with each other's work, both drew out of this original writing, hence the frequent and often surprising literal agreement between the three." The professor vouchsafes to give reasons for his assertion that St. Mark's is the source of the Gospels by St. Matthew and St. Luke. And this is not by any means the ordinary case with German critics, who so often assert that a point is plainly so and so, when, to an ordinary mind, the conclusion is by no means obvious. But the great object in his view is to get rid of any eye-witness who has written the life of our Lord. Schenkel accepts the general view that Peter was Mark's informant on the facts of the history; but inasmuch that he does not relate what he has seen and heard, there is less scruple in doing away with the testimony of the Evangelist. It does not shock one's conscience so much to hear that an account has come to a writer second-hand, and has been embellished by him, as to learn that a person relates what he has witnessed, and yet that what he relates is not true, but full of poetical and mythical embellishments, and yet we are to accept the same as in some degree trustworthy, and as a religious document! This would be the state of the case if we allow that any one of the Gospels was written by a

companion of our Lord. It must be either true or false. The writer either tells what he has seen and heard, or he does not. There is no middle course; and this is always a difficulty which critics like Schenkel have to overcome. He has disposed of St. Matthew's Gospel, but St. John's remains, and this is a great stumbling-block. And he tries to remove it in the best way he can. Being obliged to admit that historical evidence is strongly and altogether in its favour—and this fact is confessed by the most strenuous objectors to the truth of the Gospel narrative—Schenkel is driven to support his case on internal evidence. We will give his reasoning in a version of his own words, and we venture to say that this specimen will bear out our remark at the outset in respect to the illogical character of the writer's mind. He says that he has come to the conclusion St. John could not be the author of the fourth Gospel for the following reasons:—

“That a fisherman of Palestine—a man who, in daily intercourse with his Lord, was quite unable to lay aside his Jewish prejudices—one who wished to call down fire from heaven on a Samaritan village because it refused to receive his Master—a disciple to whom Christ Himself gave the name of Son of Thunder—who shewed the utmost impatience towards friendly-disposed persons, simply because they would not attach themselves to the band of disciples—a man who, twenty years after the death of Christ, was regarded as the mainstay of the Judaizing party in the Church—a man who, in an advanced age, composed the Book of ‘the Revelation,’ full of Jewish hatred of heathenism—that such a man could have written the Gospel which takes up the very strongest position against Judaism, and is, at the same time, full of the very spirit of gentleness and love—this I maintain to be in the highest degree improbable. This precious monument of a philosophic cultivated mind, which was by nature gentle, and full of toleration, raised above all narrowness of party feelings and views, could only have had John for its author, under the supposition that the miracle took place of a complete change of mind and character at a time of life when men seldom change their convictions.”

Weaker reasoning than this could not easily be. It is unnecessary to point out the absurdity—we can use no milder

word—of such arguments. And this evidence is to be taken as valid ground for rejecting the authenticity of St. John's Gospel against the concurrent testimony of history, which assigns the authorship to the apostle so early as the second century. It cannot escape notice in the above extract that Schenkel ascribes the authorship of "the Apocalypse" to the apostle, which modern critics strenuously deny, and about which there was great doubt in the early Church. So his theory contradicts history two ways,—in what it maintains and what it doubts. He is ready enough to accept the Apocalypse as the apostle's work if he can thereby invalidate his claim to the Gospel. Would Schenkel, unless driven to it by his wish to get rid of the fourth Gospel, allow the outward and inward arguments *against* the apostolical authorship of the Apocalypse to escape his notice? And what can be made of the first Epistle assigned to St. John? Can he see no similarity between the style of this and of the Gospel called by his name? Is there no spirit of love and gentleness in the epistle? But if such supposed incompatibility between the character of the apostle—of whom we know that he was the disciple whom Jesus loved—be sufficient to overthrow the strongest historical evidence, what work can maintain its ground?

We will add Schenkel's views on the miracles in this Gospel, though here he becomes misty in his expressions. His style generally has the merit of being exceedingly clear. There is little doubt about his meaning, whatever we may think of it; but in his enunciation of his ideas on this point he gets into a certain degree of cloudiness. "You know my view of miracles," he says, addressing his unbelieving friends, "the region of spirit, above all of the Divine Spirit, the region of freedom is not easily to be comprehended. Therefore persons of great worldwide influence and power are to be understood only up to a certain point. In every extraordinary man there is something that remains an insoluble riddle to the understanding of others. In a peculiar degree does this apply to Jesus. His world of ideas was drawn from the eternal depths of the universal Being. With Him begins a new development of manhood. His moral qualifications and powers show a purity and perfection that must be referred to the holy source of all purity and goodness. Work-



ings of the Spirit went out from Jesus, not only to other spirits, but to bodily organizations when disturbed by sickness, and these influences cannot be explained according to known laws of nature, as their first original cause is a secret to us." Again, on the miracles of healing performed by our Lord, the writer remarks: "The healings which without doubt Jesus effected on not a few persons, and all the more surely in proportion as the cause of the sickness had its seat in the disarrangement of the mental or moral faculties, cannot be explained on any medical grounds. They are the results of the exhibition of mental and moral superiority. We need not wonder, if twenty or thirty years after the departure of the incomparable Master from the circle which owed so much to His influence on their minds and feelings, that a more miraculous power was attributed to Him than in reality had gone forth from Him. He had, according to the Gospel narratives, stilled the raging waves of the sea of Galilee; nay, Himself walked on them dryshod. He had cursed a fig-tree, and it had withered," etc. So, according to Schenkel, in the course of some twenty years after Christ's death, a perfect myth had arisen as complete as that which, in the history of nations, requires some centuries for its development from tradition. This seems to be more against experience than a miracle itself. And eye-witnesses (for it is impossible to get over this fact) relate as actual events, not in one or two instances, but in several, circumstances which never took place! And we are to receive such an account as a narrative which has claims on our respect, because the writers of the Gospels wished to express, though in a highly embellished way, their gratitude to their Master. And why? We will not omit the reason, which seems sufficient in the professor's mind. "The popular imagination requires the attraction of poetry in religion. It is fond of depicting, but in the poetry there is a deeper meaning and truth. Has not Christ, then, with His Word, the bread from heaven, fed thousands in the wilderness of a waste of formalities and poisonous superstitions? Has He not stilled the storm of passion of sensual desires, and turned it into the heavenly call of peace and holy obedience? Has He not called forth with His awakening voice hearts from the sleep of death to the life of

righteousness and love, etc. Does one who believes in the mental and moral miracles of Jesus lose anything if he gives up his belief in the material?" The myths evaporate into allegories, and this is all which is to be left us in the Gospel history—a pretty poetical allegory!

We have done with Dr. Schenkel for the present. He discusses the authenticity of the Epistles, accepting some and rejecting others, much after the arbitrary manner of critics of his school. The pastoral Epistles to Timothy and Titus he dismisses with scarcely a hearing. Those to the Colossians and Ephesians he regards as doubtful. He is inclined to accept as genuine the Epistles to Philemon and to the Philippians, while he receives as authentic, with little or no qualification, Romans, Galatians, and Corinthians. The last two dissertations are employed in enunciating his views respecting "the spirit of the New Testament," and "the right use of the Bible." From his treatment of the history and facts in Scripture, it is easy enough to understand the drift of what he would have to say on these subjects.

It may not be unnecessary or uninteresting to have brought such a work as this of Dr. Schenkel's before the notice of our readers. It is not likely to be translated or to be known much in England. But it is a specimen of a prevailing, though perhaps extreme, school in Germany. For, as we said at the commencement, the writer is not only a professor in an important though small university, but also the head of the theological seminary, and so invested with great power in forming the minds of the future preachers. And, lamenting the alienation of the educated classes from Christianity, he writes this essay to bring them back to it! What does he offer them? What conclusion can his free-thinking countrymen draw from his notion of genuine Christianity, but that *they* are right in regarding the whole as "cunningly devised fables," *he* is inconsequent in professing any belief in such untrustworthy documents? We have an unshaken belief that there is some truer solution of the difficult questions of the day than this rash arbitrary criticism. Reason and faith, science and revelation, cultivation and religion, can be reconciled, and indeed are bound together in one common cause,—the

cause of truth ; but attempts like this can only serve to create distrust. We have drawn attention to *Christianity and the Church in Harmony with the Development of Cultivation*, from the conviction that we may learn at least something to avoid in our mode of dealing with such questions. The tendency of the present day is perhaps towards surrender of firm ground. Some writers are so anxious to be candid, that they are ready to grant to their adversaries what ought not to be yielded. They meet them more than half way. Points are taken for granted which are more than doubtful. The *petitio principii* is a very common fallacy with critics, and in this book of Schenkel we have it fully shewn. We see how an author, who is writing for the benefit of those who are not Christians, can prove that his view offers them nothing. We find how very uncritical can be a professed critic. Schenkel, as well as his forerunner, Strauss, may be a warning of the inevitable conclusion to which the rejection of the supernatural in Christianity will lead men.

H. D.



*Ethnological Society*, May 7.—J. Crawford, Esq., President, in the chair.—The papers read were, “On the Indians of the Darien Peninsula,” by Dr. Cullen. As a race of Red Indians, they were described as handsome, low in stature and lithe of limb, having a physical development well suited to gliding through the matted vegetation of the country. They are peaceful and industrious, and fish and hunt. They make cotton and grass hammocks, canoes of callicalli, a red wood like cedar. The seeds of the candle-nut tree strung on reeds serve them for candles.—“On the Civilization of the First Icelandic Colonists, with a Short Account of their Manners and Customs,” by Mr. Hjaltalín. The colonization of Iceland was, of course, given to the influx of Scandinavians, but notice was taken of the previous presence on the island of some Irish monks, the indications of whose residence were met with by the Scandinavians on their arrival, in shape of bells, books and other relics.—“Further Remarks on the Ethnology of the Chinese,” by Dr. Lamprey.

## THOUGHTS ON THE BOOK OF JONAH.

THE desire which St. Paul expressed for the Philippians that, through the increase of knowledge and discernment, they might approve the things that are excellent, is one ever to be cherished by ourselves and others. It is not enough for Christian welfare and usefulness, that we should separate the true from the false, the good from the evil; we must also learn to distinguish between what is certain and what is not certain, between what is important and what is not important. The things in which Christians are of one mind are the certain and important, and those in which they have various opinions are generally the uncertain and unimportant; but because differences have been the chief subjects of controversy, they have acquired a place most disproportionate to their real worth. If truth be valued, opinions will be held, firmly or feebly, according to their evidence; and if improvement be sought for, they will be esteemed according to their profitableness. But if all our religious opinions are maintained with the same earnestness, it is manifest that the chief cause of our zeal is in what is common to all. They are all *our own* opinions, equally belonging to our own system and party; and therefore we contend for all in the same way. But then it does not appear that we strive for the truth which comes from God, and for the righteousness which belongs to the kingdom of our Lord.

The restoration of Jonah from the fish, and the resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead, are associated in the minds of many as though they were equally certain and important. Yet it may be said of one, that the chief, if not the whole evidence, is the doubtful interpretation of a single passage in which the subject is alluded to; while, for the other, there is the unmis-takeable testimony, direct and indirect, of all the Christian Scriptures. Of the one miracle it may be said, that it does not appear to have had any special influence for good; and of the other, that it is the foundation of Christian faith and hope, and that it has changed the history of the world. It is not possible to imagine two events more dissimilar in evidence and importance; and that it should ever be said both must be received, or both

rejected, shews the absence of that discernment of differences which the apostle describes as conducive to Christian improvement.

The literal interpretation of the Book of Jonah may be said to rest now on the supposed testimony of Christ. We admit that if His words are rightly understood to attest a *fact*, the subject is removed beyond the range of controversy. But it becomes all who maintain the supreme authority of the teaching of our Lord, to be very careful that they do not represent as His testimony, which must be true, their own inferences from it, which may have a contrary character ; and for which, even if true, no similar authority ought ever to be claimed.

There were at least three occasions on which Christ referred to the prophet Jonah,—Matt. xii. 39 ; xvi. 4 ; Luke xi. 29. On the first two, His words were spoken to Pharisees in Galilee, in reply to their demand that, in addition to all the evidence which had been presented, He would shew them a *sign from heaven*. On the third, His words were addressed to the multitude who attended Him, at a later time and in another part of the country. There is some similarity in what was said on all these occasions. As the same objections would be often raised, the same replies might be often given. But the occasions recorded are different, and should be distinguished. In the first statements respecting the Jewish people there is no material difference, the words of St. Matthew being in both cases the same, and those of St. Luke nearly so. “ *A wicked and apostate generation is seeking for a sign, and a sign will not be given it, except the sign of Jonah the prophet* ” (Matt. xii. 39 ; xvi. 4). “ *This generation is a wicked generation ; it seeks a sign, and a sign will not be given it, except the sign of Jonah* ” (Luke xi. 29). In the record of our Lord’s words given by St. Mark, corresponding to the second passage of St. Matthew, where no explanation is added, the reference to Jonah is omitted, and it is simply said, “ *A sign will not be given to this generation* ” (viii. 12). To the first of St. Matthew’s statements an explanation is added, and to the statement of St. Luke another. From both it appears that the *sign of Jonah* means a sign resembling what was related of him, or what was done by him. The declaration, a sign would *not be given*, is an absolute refusal of what was demanded. It is not

that the sign asked for would not be given till some future time ; it would never be given. The sign described as the sign of Jonah was not at all the sign asked for ; and though they would see it, it would not be given to satisfy their unreasonable scepticism.

We have now to consider the two explanations of the *sign of Jonah*, which immediately follow in the two discourses of our Lord ; and first that which is related by St. Matthew. "*For even as Jonah was in the belly of the fish three days and three nights, so will the Son of Man be in the heart of the earth three days and three nights.*" The *heart of the earth* is a figurative expression for the lowest condition.<sup>a</sup> It would be unsuitable as a description of the grave of Jesus, and the time stated does not agree with such a restriction of the words. Now it should be observed that, though the *restoration* of Jonah is suggested, only his previous *confinement* is mentioned ; and so though the *resurrection* of Christ is indicated, only His *humiliation* is declared. Of this only is it said that it would be a *sign*. His *humiliation* was seen by the people, but His *resurrection* was not seen by them ; and the former, as the fulfilment of His own words, and the strongest expression of His truthfulness and love, was a proof, in addition to all already afforded, that He was sent by God. This statement was not made to the disciples, nor to the people in general, but to the Pharisees, who were seeking to pervert all his words and actions. As before, when a sign was demanded by those who even then were secretly seeking His death, it was said, "*Destroy this sanctuary, and in three days I will raise it,*" John ii. 19 ; so now another parable is given. On both occasions Christ shewed His adversaries that He was acquainted with their thoughts, and intimated to them that they would obtain a brief, but only a brief success, in their opposition to Him. It is not said that the confinement of Jonah, or his restoration, was a sign to the Ninevites or to the Jews ; but merely that the humiliation of Christ, as predicted by Himself, and continuing the manifestation of His character, would be a

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<sup>a</sup> The *heart of the earth* corresponds to the *heart of the sea*, Jonah ii. 3, both being equivalent to the *deep places*. And the expression is used figuratively for a state of low abasement and affliction. "Thou shalt bring me up again from the depths of the earth," Psalm lxx. 20. The predicted humiliation of Christ is to be reckoned from the hour of His apprehension by the officers.

sign to His adversaries, a sign that might be called the sign of Jonah, because of its similarity *in time* to what was said of the prophet's confinement. In their moral character, their antecedents and consequents, the associated events were most dissimilar. Only in the one particular of *time* is there agreement between the statements respecting the affliction of Jonah, and the prediction of our Lord concerning Himself. This is the only correspondence mentioned, and it is exact. There were three days and three nights in both cases. The peculiar form chosen for the prediction would serve to fix it in the minds of hearers. The Jewish Scriptures could supply no more appropriate imagery; and this reference to the Book of Jonah is naturally connected with the subsequent statements concerning the mission of the prophet and the repentance of the Ninevites. But in these statements not the least allusion appears to the preceding comparison and prediction. The preaching of Jonah, not the reported miracle, produced the repentance of the Ninevites; and the inexcusableness of the Jews was manifest in this, that they were addressed by one superior to the prophet, and yet continued impenitent. "*They repented at the preaching of Jonah, and lo, more than Jonah is here*" (xii. 41).

We advance now to the second explanation, which is related by St. Luke. "*For as Jonah was a sign to the Ninevites, so will the Son of Man be to this generation.*" What the ministry of Jonah was to the Ninevites, that the ministry of Christ was to the Jews. They were both *signs*,—manifestations of the Divine will; and the latter receives the name of the former, because of similarity. Here, it should be noticed, nothing is said of the confinement and restoration of Jonah, nor of the corresponding humiliation and resurrection of Christ. Nothing is said of Jonah's being a sign to the Jews. Christ was a sign to the Jews, as Jonah had been a sign to the Ninevites. His preaching is mentioned, and this alone, as producing in them repentance. The ministry of Christ is compared with that of the prophet.<sup>b</sup> What Jonah had been to the Ninevites, that and much more

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<sup>b</sup> "Behold, I and the children whom the Lord hath given me, are for signs and wonders in Israel from the Lord of Hosts," Isa. viii. 18; Heb. ii. 13. "For I have set thee for a sign unto the house of Israel," Ezek. xii. 6.

Jesus had been to the Jews; but while the former were penitent, the latter were impenitent. The use of the future tense does not shew that the sign here spoken of belonged only to the future, but merely that the ministry of Christ would continue to be what it had been.<sup>c</sup> As Jonah was a sign, so Jesus had been, and would still be, a sign to that generation. The guilt referred to was not in their future rejection of Christ after the resurrection, but in their present impenitence, notwithstanding all that they had already seen and heard, when God spoke to them by his Son. No higher and surer sign would be given to the people than that which had been given, in the evident truth of many of His sayings, and in the manifest truthfulness and righteousness of His whole character. This kind of evidence had convinced the Ninevites, and should have satisfied them. The Ninevites were thus brought to repentance, and manifested the inexcusableness of the impenitence of the Jews. As John the Baptist, who did no miracle, was received by the Jews as a messenger from God, so was Jonah received by the Ninevites. The ministry of both was recognized as a *sign*, or their testimony would not have been received; and both produced by their preaching a wide-spread but superficial and temporary repentance. The ministry of Jonah was a sign to the Ninevites, apart from his confinement in the fish; and the ministry of Christ was a sign to the Jews before his resurrection from the dead. The moral character and purpose of the preaching of Jonah are alone mentioned here; and the words related by St. Luke neither require nor justify the supposition of any other correspondence.

In more than one sense was *the sign of Jonah* given to the Jews. There was in the whole ministry of Christ a sign like that which the prophet presented; and there was also in the subjection of Christ in humility and love, and according to his prediction, for three days and nights to the power of His adversaries, a sign like an event related of Jonah. The inconsiderate and unwarrantable identification of these two explanatory statements has occasioned much difficulty and confusion. They were spoken at different times and places, to different persons, and

<sup>c</sup> "There is one God who *will* justify the circumcision by faith," Rom. iii. 30.



with different purposes. In reply to the question, How was Jonah a sign to the Ninevites? it is readily said, By his preservation in the belly of the fish. But this is not according to the narrative, or the words of Christ. He speaks in one passage of the fish, and in another of the sign given to the Ninevites. The one comparison is a part of a prediction respecting Himself; the other asserts a correspondence between the relation of Jonah to the Ninevites, and His own relation to the Jews. The words recorded by St. Luke speak of two signs—the ministry of Jonah, which was a sign to the Ninevites, and the ministry of Christ, which was a sign to the Jews. The words recorded by St. Matthew speak only of one sign,—the brief humiliation of Christ, which, as seen by his adversaries, would be a sign to them. This humiliation is compared with the statement respecting Jonah, but nothing is said of his being thus a sign to any.<sup>d</sup>

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<sup>d</sup> It is quite certain that in the passage in which our Lord says that His own humiliation would be a sign to the Pharisees, he says nothing of Jonah's being in any way a sign to the Ninevites. That he was so in a similar way is merely an inference, and an inference of a most precarious nature. Because it is said that the humiliation of Christ was *in its duration* like the confinement of Jonah, it is *inferred* that both were *signs*,—the one a sign to the Ninevites, as the other would be a sign to Jews. But our Lord states only one point of agreement. They were both for three days and nights. No other agreement is declared, nor can any other be justly inferred. We might as well infer, because the humiliation of Christ was the result of His obedience, that the humiliation of Jonah was the result of his; that because the Saviour's humiliation was voluntary, the prophet's was voluntary also; that because Christ gave up Himself in love for those whom He was sent to save, therefore Jonah was influenced by the same spirit. These inferences are all contrary to the statements of the Book; but they are exactly similar to the inference that, because the humiliation of Christ was a sign, the humiliation of Jonah was a sign likewise. From another passage we learn that Jonah was a sign, but not that he was a sign in this way. When he is said to have been a sign to the Ninevites, as Christ was a sign to the Jews, no reference is made to the humiliation of Jonah, or to that of Christ. Only the preaching of Jonah is mentioned there; and to this the preaching of Christ corresponds. The Jews are reproved for their rejection of Jesus up to the time when He spoke to them. They had evidence of His divine mission before His resurrection, which should have led them to repentance; and this was manifest from the repentance of the Ninevites when an inferior messenger was sent to them. *The sign of Jonah*, which had been given, and would be given, by Christ to the Jews, was a sign so called from its likeness to the sign which Jonah gave to the Ninevites. *The sign of Jonah*, which would be seen by the Pharisees in the humiliation of Christ,

What do the words of our Lord declare respecting Jonah and the Ninevites? That Jonah was a prophet, and that the Ninevites repented at his preaching. His preaching and their repentance are referred to *as facts*, and are reasoned on as facts; and these statements are utterly vain unless they are historically true. That the Ninevites were imagined to repent at the preaching of Jonah could not shew the wickedness of the real impenitence of the Jews, notwithstanding the preaching of Christ. If they really did repent, then, and only then, could their conduct contribute anything for the conviction and condemnation of those who failed to profit by far greater privileges. So far the words of Christ confirm with the highest authority historical statements. But is the confinement of Jonah in the belly of the fish referred to in the same way? Is it adduced and argued on as *a fact*? Or is it simply employed as an *illustration*, for which *fiction* is as appropriate as *fact*, and sometimes more so? Most manifestly the reference to the condition of Jonah is illustrative, and not argumentative. Its propriety does not in the least depend on its reality. If the tale be a *parable*, it is as suitable as if it were history. The difference between the use of examples for proof and for illustration is noticed by Archbishop Whately and others, and shewn to be of great importance, though often disregarded.\* Where illustration only is the object, we are all accustomed to refer to *fiction* as though it were *fact*, the difference being then immaterial. Every one refers to the characters and events of Bunyan's allegory, of Scott's tales, and of Shakspeare's dramas as though

was a sign so called from its likeness to what was related in the tale. There is less likeness in the one case than in the other, but there is enough to justify the expression. This meaning probably would not be understood without an explanation, and therefore the explanation is added. The meaning given in the discourse of St. Luke, but not in that of St. Matthew, is the more obvious, and though not expressed, might be understood in connection with the subsequent statements given by St. Matthew, these containing no reference to the other explanation, which may be taken parenthetically. The supposition that the repentance of the Ninevites was owing to the *material* sign of Jonah's preservation and not to the *moral* sign of his preaching, makes the reference less suitable; for then a sign was given them of the kind demanded by the Jews; and the association of Solomon is incongruous, for his influence was not owing to any miracle.

\* *Rhetoric*, book i., chap. 2, sect. 7.

they were real.<sup>f</sup> So the persons and incidents of our Lord's parables are referred to in the same way by those who do, and by those who do not, regard them as relations of facts. It is, however, only when they are used simply for illustration that fictitious examples can be thus employed. If the preservation of Jonah had been used to prove the humiliation and resurrection of Christ, then the reality of the former must be admitted, but not otherwise. Evidently there is no argument, and there is not much illustration in the event referred to. Only one correspondence is stated, and this is sufficient for the purpose of the comparison. More correspondences cannot be inferred, for the differences are certainly more than the agreements.

If the words of Christ are duly considered, it will be evident that He declares Jonah to have been a prophet, and that the Ninevites repented at his preaching. And using these *facts* argumentatively, He gives all the sanction of a Divine authority to their historical truth. But we can only say that He declares of the Jonah of the tale, that he was three days and three nights in the belly of the fish. We have the tale, and see that so it is related there. The book which bears the name of the prophet contains this representation.<sup>g</sup> The reference of Christ is unquestionably correct. But how this statement is to be understood, and what is the character of the work—whether it be a biographical fragment or a moral parable—of these things nothing is said. Whatever may be inferred from the words of Christ, it may be asserted, without fear of contradic-

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<sup>f</sup> Any one might now naturally say that he expected to meet difficulties as Christian did in the Valley of Humiliation; or that some of his dreams were like the dream of Bunyan, in which he saw things earthly and heavenly; and then say in another sentence that Bunyan's imprisonment shewed the error of those who thought that silence diminished service. Here references to fiction and to fact are combined without any impropriety, the former being merely comparisons, and the last an argument.

<sup>g</sup> The book bears the name of Jonah, because he is the chief subject. There is not the slightest indication that it was written by him. He is always spoken of in the third person; and the incompleteness of the narrative becomes more than ever inexplicable, if it be supposed that the author gives this account of himself. The book of Job also has its name from the subject, and not from the author, and is likewise a combination of prose and poetry, of fact and fiction. Both are unique in form and character, presenting moral lessons for all ages.

tion, that He does not declare the book to be a history, and not a parable. We may think it would not be proper for him thus to use a fiction ; but of this we are scarcely competent to judge. That some things in the tale are real does not prove that all are, the real and imaginary being combined in the fictitious compositions of all countries. The use of invented examples by our Lord himself shews that He approved of this mode of instruction. It is, therefore, we maintain, an open question whether the book of Jonah be a biographical fragment or a moral parable. It must be regarded as unique, whatever view be taken of its nature. If it be said there is no parable like it, we may also say there is no history like it. There is no evidence respecting the way in which it was understood at first, and for some centuries after its publication. The references to Jonah in the Book of Tobit, and in the Targum, merely respect his preaching to the Ninevites ; and the testimony of Josephus, while it shews that the literal interpretation of the book was accepted by some, indicates that it was not received by him.<sup>a</sup> There is no other judgment than that of Christ which can forbid discussion ; and His words leave the subject open for the most free inquiry. Is the tale of Jonah a moral parable or a biographical fragment ? All the evidence of any value is to be found in the book itself. It should not be regarded as a parable without some reason ; but this is sufficiently supplied by the form and contents of this remarkable composition.

We have to compare only two alternatives respecting this work. That it is not a false legend is shewn by its place among the Sacred Scriptures, and by its representation of the moral government of God. It could answer no purpose of deception, and, rightly considered, all its lessons are consistent, pure, and noble. It cannot be viewed as a historical fragment ; for all that concerns the Ninevites is completely subordinate. The tale begins and ends with Jonah ; and the little that is said of

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<sup>a</sup> The historical reference to Jonah and the Ninevites is in the Targum of Nahum i., 2, that of the Book of Jonah being merely a translation. The fish is alluded to in what is called the 3rd Book of Maccabees vi. 8 ; but this a feeble and fabulous composition, written seven or eight centuries after the death of the prophet. Such a recognition of the reality of the fish cannot be called evidence.

others is always in connection with him. It is, therefore, either a biographical fragment or a moral parable. Now, regarded as biography, it is not only partial, but incomplete, and unaccountably so; while, as a parable, it is perfect, and would be marred by any addition. One portion of the book is in the *form of poetry*, and by this alone is taken from the domain of history or biography. The prayer of Jonah is not given as a metrical composition subsequently made, but as the expression of what was said in the belly of the fish. If the form is decisive against the literal interpretation of one part of the tale, it must affect the character of the whole. The minute picturesque detail of certain portions, and contrasted therewith, the bare general nature of others, are more in the style of parable than biography; and so is the dialogue with which the book concludes.<sup>i</sup>

The beginning of the tale affords some indications of its character. Jonah is said to have received a divine mission for Nineveh, and to have refused to go there. His disobedience alone is stated, and no cause for it is assigned. This, however, is declared afterwards by the prophet himself. He was unwilling to go, not because he feared the evil the Ninevites might do to him, but merely because he feared that God would be merciful to them. At first only his *disobedience* is mentioned, and this is described as a *voluntary banishment*. He would rather leave his home and country, his religious associations, and the services of the temple, than obey the command of God. He made himself a solitary exile among other heathen, rather than submit to the divine will, and contribute to the good of those to whom he was sent. Could any Jew prefer this? Why should he leave his own land? He could disobey without a voluntary banishment. How could a prophet of Jehovah think that he

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<sup>i</sup> In the conciseness of some parts and the amplification of others, in the combination of narrative and dialogue, and in the suddenness of the close, the tale resembles that of the Prodigal Son. The payment of money for the passage in the ship is like the payment of money to the innkeeper in another parable, the Good Samaritan. The definite numbers are similar to those used in many of the parables of our Lord. The objects of a parable, or any fictitious tale, are illustration and impression. The purpose of biography or history is information, which, to be useful, requires the statement of facts, with their causes and consequences.

should go from the divine presence by going to Tarshish? The Jews too often did choose the sins through which they became exiles; but their *banishment*, as an immediate result, was never the object of their choice. By choosing disobedience, they in effect chose the banishment which followed, but not willingly. What the prophet is represented as doing with deliberate purpose and preference, they did without desire and intention. The conduct attributed to him would, as a *parable*, serve to expose their similar folly and wickedness. But if he really did this, his conduct would be some excuse for theirs; for the folly and wickedness of the prophet exceeded that with which the people could be charged.

The close of the tale is no less significant of its character. Jonah is represented as caring more for the life of a wild plant than for the lives of many thousand human beings. He was grieved and angry on account of the destruction of a gourd, and he was grieved and angry on account of the preservation of a people. Could any good man feel thus, and justify himself before God? His last words are, "*I do well to be angry, even unto death.*" If this is possible, it can only be in a morbid condition of mind approaching to madness. And the question arises, Why should such a condition be recorded? Why this exhibition of infatuation and insensibility, which equals, if it does not exceed, that of Pharaoh when he was given up to blindness of mind and hardness of heart? The worst Jew would condemn the inhumanity attributed to the prophet. If he regarded it as a *parable*, it would lead him to recognize the wrong of all unkindness towards the heathen; but if it were taken as a statement of fact, the inhumanity of Jonah would palliate all other inhumanity towards Gentiles; for the common hostility of the Jewish people was small compared with that of the Jewish prophet.

If we look further to the contents of the book, its figurative character becomes more apparent. There is a manifest unity in the representation, which is more in accordance with the design of a *parable*, than with the facts or purpose of a real history. All the lines of the picture are dark. Supposing it to be a biographical fragment, we ask, What could be the object of the

writer? What end could be answered by such a representation of the character of a prophet? The Bible is distinguished from other books by its truthfulness; it records the faults and sins of good men, as well as their virtues and services. But wrong-doing is never related merely because it was real. Apart from its antecedents and consequences, the wrong would be hurtful and not beneficial. The accompaniments of evil must be considered, or the knowledge of evil cannot be profitable; and the wrong-doings of good men, if they are to be instructive and not injurious, must be shewn to differ from the wrong-doings of those who are altogether faithless and wicked. Now, in the tale of the prophet, nothing that is good is said of him, but only what is evil. His testimony is useful to the mariners and to the Ninevites, but he does not desire it. Some pious sentiments are expressed by the psalm which he utters in the time of his distress; but here everything refers exclusively to himself, and his outward condition. There is no mention of sin or obedience, or the good of others. This prayer is the only expression of his piety. Everything besides is indicative of inhumanity and irreligion. The tale begins with the most foolish rebellion, and ends with morose and malignant impenitence. There is some change of conduct, but none of character. The opposition to the divine mercy, and the selfishness which prompted his flight, are preserved throughout the tale, and have their worst expression at the close.

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J Generosity has been attributed to Jonah, because he gave up himself to the sailors; and patriotism, because he wished the perdition of Nineveh for the good of his own country; and gratitude, because he felt the goodness of God in the gourd which sheltered him. But the narrative does not in any way commend the prophet. There is no virtue in submission to necessity; and patriotism is a vice when it seeks the advantage of one's own people by the injury of others; and to value kindness merely because it increases one's own comfort, is no acknowledgment of the goodness of God. That Jonah's gladness came exclusively from the enjoyment of the gift, appears from its failing altogether when this was withdrawn. Neither his joys or his sorrows are those of a good man. He suffers in mind merely from envy, and he suffers from the heat merely because he keeps in his own booth, and will not accept the shelter given to others. His obedience is merely outward, his service that of the tongue and not of the heart. The suppositions of those who excuse and exalt the Jonah of the parable, if true, would be given in the tale, being requisite to a just representation. They are not given, but are contradicted by the statements which are made of him.

He was displeased exceedingly because of the preservation of the people, and he was exceedingly glad on account of the gourd. Now, if such facts were possible, how, we ask, is the record of them to be profitable? As a parable, the representation of wrong is instructive, and the introduction of any speech or action distinctive of real goodness would be incongruous. But no humility could lead a man to say so much evil of himself, and nothing but evil; to declare his sin, and say nothing of his sorrow for it; nor could truthfulness require that such a partial representation should be given of any man, whether sinner or saint. If it be said that the prophet's wickedness manifests the mercy of God, and is manifested by its contrast with that mercy, we reply that this lesson belongs to the parable; and that it is much impaired if we suppose that such wickedness is compatible with true religion; and that the prophets who declare the divine mercy may be utterly insensible to its attractive and assimilating influence.

Most of the objections commonly made to the literal interpretation of the Book of Jonah are founded on its marvels, especially on the extraordinary statements respecting the whale. With those who deny the historical character of the narrative simply on the ground that it is miraculous, we have not the least sympathy. He who made and governs all things can do by his unseen ministers, or without their aid, what is above all human power; and He has done this. But the miracles belonging to the tale of Jonah are unlike the miracles of the Bible, which are appealed to as the foundations or confirmations of faith. Those which are unquestionably real have characteristics by which they are inexpressibly exalted above the reach of fiction, or the region of superstition. They belong manifestly to the moral government of God. The genuine miracles of Moses and the prophets, of Christ and the Apostles, were attestations of a divine mission, and are full of religious significance.\* But the prodigies of this tale proved nothing that needed special proof, taught nothing that was not taught by common events, and accomplished nothing

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\* The statement of the descent of the angel, and the cure of the sick at the pool of Bethesda, is a spurious addition to the Gospel of St. John, and there are doubtless similar corruptions of the text of the Old Testament.



that required any extraordinary agency. A little increase of faith in God, according to ordinary instruction, would have brought the prophet back to his duty, and to him only could his deliverance be a sign. It is often supposed to have been a sign to the Ninevites, but this is without the least evidence from Scripture. It could be evidence to others only through the testimony of Jonah. Some saw him when cast into the sea, and some when cast on the shore ; but they could not be the same persons, and no one is said to have accompanied the prophet to support his testimony. Nor is he said to have given any testimony respecting the miracle ; nor could his testimony to the miracle be any reasonable confirmation of the testimony to his mission. Why should the one be credited more than the other ? These additions are made to the tale without any warrant ; and if requisite to a right understanding, they would have formed a part of the tale. The deliverance of Jonah as described would be a miracle without purpose, and therefore it is incredible. But it does not stand alone in the tale. There are two pairs of opposing miracles. There is the storm to threaten destruction, and the fish to preserve from destruction ; the gourd to afford its pleasant shade, and the worm to cause the new plant to wither. All are referred to in the same way. The Lord sent a great wind, and spake to a great fish. God prepared a gourd to deliver him from his grief, and prepared a worm the next day to smite it that it might wither. Would any writer expect that such statements respecting miraculous events would be understood literally, because the miracles of Moses were believed ? Can any things be more unlike ? In the tale we have a multiplication of marvels, conflicting one with another, and neither separately or collectively accomplishing any purpose that required a miracle. They could be signs only to Jonah, and they fail to effect any alteration in his mind. This, then, is our objection to the literal interpretation of the tale, not simply that it relates miracles, but that these are in character and design, unlike the genuine miracles of Bible history, and like the inventions characteristic of a parable. If the tale were to be profitable by means of the miracles related, how, we ask, could it be expected that these should be believed on the testimony of one person, who

declared their unprofitableness to himself? That the marvels of the tale have been profitable, we fully admit; but the profit has come from the lessons which equally belong to it when it is regarded as a parable, and not from the evidence afforded by its miracles as historical facts. It may be safely affirmed, that no one ever believed in the reality of the miracles related in the book of Jonah, who was not already fully persuaded, on much better evidence, of all the truths which these miracles have ever been supposed to prove. They are useful as *lessons*, but only to those to whom as *evidence* they are useless. They are perfect for all the purposes of a *parable*, but only for these.

What is presented in any truthful composition may be recognized as imaginary, if it be contrary to the course of nature, and to the lessons of Scripture. The *condition* attributed to Jonah in the fish is one contrariety which shews that the tale is not to be taken as a record of facts; and the *conduct* attributed to him afterwards is another contrariety, equally or even more conclusive. The description of his wickedness surpasses anything related in history, sacred or profane. It is superhuman; and this alone, if duly considered, would, we think, have precluded the supposition that any man really felt and acted as Jonah is said to have done. In estimating the moral wrong of conduct, three things are taken into account:—1. The nature and measure of the evil chosen; 2. The motives to wrong which are allowed to prevail; 3. The inducements to right which are seen and resisted. If we glance at these it will be manifest that the wickedness attributed to Jonah is more monstrous than has ever been laid to the charge even of the worst of men.

1. According to the literal interpretation of the narrative, he actually desired the impenitence and ruin, the continued wickedness and immediate destruction, of all the inhabitants of a vast city; and this, knowing them to be the objects of the divine mercy. To desire the death of one person without a proper cause, is to share the criminality of Cain. To desire his impenitence in order to make sure his destruction, is a wickedness worse than that of common murder. What then can be said of the man who could desire the impenitence and destruction of thousands and hundreds of thousands? If the tale be taken

literally, this was the desire of Jonah, his deliberate preference, his continued choice. He was unwilling to convey the divine message, because, from the first, he feared the people would repent and receive mercy. He wished for their destruction, and was bitterly disappointed when this wish was not gratified. Is this possible?<sup>1</sup>

2. According to the literal interpretation of the tale, he could have no other motive to this choice than the *pleasure* of seeing his prophecy fulfilled, and the people of another nation miserably perish; or the *pain* of seeing their preservation and prosperity. This pleasure was all that he could lose. He did not lose the honour of a prophet of God, for it was because he had been received with the highest honour that the predicted destruction was prevented. He did not lose the satisfaction of great achievement, for the largest success attended his ministry. Prince and people humbled themselves when they heard his warning voice; they promised amendment, and prayed for the mercy of God. This was the honour and reward he obtained, far excelling the objects of any common ambition, and the greatest a good man could possibly desire. Inconceivably small in comparison would be the pleasure, if it could rise in any human heart, of seeing warnings fulfilled, because they were disregarded; of witnessing the destruction of a people, instead of being welcomed as their deliverer. It has been conjectured by some that an element of patriotism, or of piety, may have influenced his mind; that he was solicitous for the welfare of his countrymen, and therefore was displeased at the preservation of their enemies; or that he was concerned for the glory of God, and therefore wished that divine threatenings should be accomplished.\* But

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<sup>1</sup> The reader will please to remember that the wickedness set forth is not attributed by the writer to the real prophet. The argument is, that the transcendent character of the wickedness is alone a sufficient indication that the tale should be taken as a parable. The things which are most improbable in a biography may be most proper in a parable.

\* Jonah lived before the time when the Assyrians became the oppressors of Israel, and before any popular resentment was excited against them. The destruction of Nineveh could be no advantage to the Jews. Their punishment was certain if they continued impenitent, whatever might be the fate of Nineveh: while if they had faith in God, they had nothing to fear from any foe.

there is nothing in the narrative to give the least support to either supposition. Jonah says nothing of the safety of his country, or the honour of his God ; and both considerations are excluded by the nature of the case. If Nineveh renounced all violence and wrong, Israel had nothing to dread from its power, and might be expected in every way to participate in its prosperity. The repentance of Nineveh was a lesson most adapted to produce repentance in Israel ; and if the people were penitent, surely the honour of God was secured as much as it would be by their punishment. The history of the Jews from the first shewed that the threatenings of punishment were always conditional statements, and that the truth of God did not require their fulfilment when men repented. This is plainly declared by the prophets. "At what instant I shall speak concerning a nation, and concerning a kingdom, to pluck up and to pull down and to destroy it, if that nation against whom I have pronounced turn from their evil, I will repent of the evil that I thought to do unto them" (Jer. xviii. 7). "When I say unto the wicked, Thou shalt surely die, if he turn from his sin, and do that which is lawful and right . . . he shall surely live ; he shall not die" (Ezek. xxxiii. 14). The Ninevites knew this, and so did Jonah ; he could not, therefore, have supposed that the truth of God would be dishonoured because the repentant people were spared. In the narrative nothing appears but the lowest, smallest, and worst selfishness. His distress was caused, according to the tale, entirely by the safety and joy of others. His pain came from the worst of human passions, envy, which makes the good of another evil to the spectator ; and which becomes more intense when shared with many, but is not at all purified and ennobled by the name of patriotism. For most crimes some excuse may be found in the darkening and disturbing influence of passion. For most wrong there is at least some semblance of reason ; but how can we account for the wickedness of the prophet ? There was nothing to awaken resentment, or fear, or avarice, or ambition. None of the people had injured him, or given him any offence. He lost nothing by their penitence and preservation, but gained much thereby in honour and renown. The wrong choice attributed to him is the greatest it is possible to imagine, and the least

possible was the temptation. Could such wrong be chosen from such a motive?

3. The inducements to right set forth in the narrative are of the strongest nature, but according to the literal interpretation, they were entirely disregarded by the prophet. All the events of his course, as related in the tale, were of a kind to prevent the disposition and behaviour attributed to him. His disobedience is the first thing mentioned. He refuses to go to Nineveh with a divine message, and acts as one who knew nothing of the true God, going to a distant place to be free from the divine presence and service. He is represented as having less religion than the heathen sailors; for while they in distress look upward for deliverance, he remains asleep till roused and reproved by their earnestness. He makes no acknowledgment of wrong till he is found out, and does not give up himself till escape is evidently impossible.\* All the devotion, the courage, the generosity, the faith, described in the tale, belong to the Gentiles and not to the Jew. We have already noticed the improbability belonging to this representation alone. It is much increased by what follows, the connection being strongly suggestive of its interpretation as a parable. Surely the man who had himself rebelled, whose irreligion was reproved by the religion of the heathen, who witnessed their nobleness, and experienced their kindness,—he who himself needed mercy would not withhold the same mercy from others.

The account of his sin is followed by that of his chastisement and deliverance. He was brought into the lowest condition of distress. To the mariners he had declared himself to be a wor-

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\* There is a slight irregularity in verse 10, which seems to be intentional. The question of the sailors implies that some statement of his conduct had been made to them by Jonah. But his *confession* is kept in the background, and is only referred to, while great prominence is given to his *profession* of Judaism. This may seem a small thing, but it is significant. A more obvious indication of the parable is given in the description of the conduct of the sailors, which is in striking contrast with the subsequent conduct of Jonah. He was the cause of their loss, distress, and danger. He had concealed himself as long as possible, and then confessed his guilt, declaring himself the object of divine displeasure; yet they strive to the utmost, at the risk of their own lives, to save him from the destructive waters, and consent to his death, because they see it to be the will of Him who does not punish the innocent.

shipper of the God of heaven, who made the sea and the dry land. In the psalm which he is said to have uttered in the belly of the fish, the nature of his religion appears. There is no expression of penitence, no prayer for pardon. God is described as the cause of his affliction, and therefore he calls on God to deliver him. The presence and power of God are acknowledged, and the favour which respected himself; but the righteousness of God and the uprightness of men are not mentioned. He speaks not as a sinner seeking mercy, but as one who was a special object of the divine regard. Others followed lying vanities, and forsook their own good, but he did not. His God would take care of him. He was a worshipper of the temple; he offered sacrifice and thanksgiving; he payed his vows. God would certainly hear him.<sup>o</sup> The prayer is not unlike the prayer of the Pharisee in the parable. It does not seem very suitable to the condition of Jonah, but nothing can be more appropriate as an expression of the low and limited religion which prevailed among the Jews. A truly good man might say what Jonah said, but he would say more; and he would not be uninfluenced by events so extraordinary. Surely such an experience of distress, and such an acknowledgment of dependance on God, would produce some compassion for those who might sin and suffer in any similar way. Surely one thus brought low, and then lifted up, would sympathize with his fellow men, and not withhold from them the mercy he received.

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<sup>o</sup> In this brief prayer there are correspondences to seven passages of the Psalms, but these manifest another spirit. They all contain some acknowledgment of the moral government of God, and they refer to the good of others. But in this prayer there is no reference to sin or to righteousness, and the thoughts never go away from self. It is scarcely possible that there should be so many parallels, and all of one kind, without intention. Mention is made of former supplications and future thanksgiving, but in the psalm itself there is neither prayer nor praise. Much of the religion of the Jews consisted in the recitation of psalms. There may be earnest prayer for the divine help, and much hope of deliverance, where there is no true faith in God. The most passionate supplications and the strongest expectations of safety preceded the destruction of Jerusalem. The Jonah of the parable, like the Jews of whom he was the representative, cared only for an *external* salvation, and an *external* service. If the Psalms are compared with the prayer of Jonah, the difference of character will be immediately seen and felt. *Psa.* xxx. 3; xxxi. 6, 22; xlii. 7; cxvi. 17; cxx. 1; cxliii. 4.

After his restoration to life he is again directed to go to Nineveh with the message of God ; and he now obeys. He declares that because of the wickedness of the people, in forty days they will perish. Then we are told, the people believed God, and turned from their evil ways. They did not regard the declaration as an absolute decree, but as a warning of deserved punishment. They were right, and Jonah knew that they were right. They had faith in God, and because of this they hoped that by penitence and prayer the threatened doom might be averted. Here again, as in the former part of the tale, the Gentiles appear superior to the Jew. Nothing is said of the prophet's faith, or zeal, or tenderness. He is represented as doing his work, delivering his message, saying his words ; this is all. The reverence, and earnestness, and trust, and supplication, belong only to the people.<sup>p</sup> They humbled themselves from the greatest to the least, and turned from their evil way ; and the impending evil did not come upon them ; they were saved. Day passed after day, and week after week, and the repentance and reformation of the people continued and advanced. With increasing hope they passed through the predicted forty days ; and at the end were safe and happy, rejoicing in the mercy of God. According to the tale, the prophet saw and heard all this,—the signs and sounds of humiliation and mourning, the language of penitence and prayer, and the changed conduct of the people. God saw that *they turned from their evil way* ; and the prophet saw it also. He was acquainted with all this ; and would not one who had himself sinned and suffered, and been saved, sympathize with the joy of those who sought and obtained mercy ? Would not the divine mercy which had brought a nation to repentance, and filled their hearts and habitations with gladness, be more glorious than ever to the prophet's now ? Would he not rejoice with joy unspeakable over the thousands brought to repentance, and saved from death ?

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<sup>p</sup> The style of a parable is manifest in the order of the king, that neither *men* or *beasts* should eat food, or drink water, that both *men and beasts* should be covered with sackcloth, and cry mightily to God. This may be possible, but the details respecting the conduct and proclamation of the king shew the writer's purpose to present another contrast to the conduct of the prophet.

Surely, he who saw this could not wish that mercy had been withheld from the people, and that they had perished in their sins. But according to the literal interpretation of the tale, it was even so. The fugitive whose irreligion had been reprov'd by heathen—the outcast who had been mercifully and miraculously saved from destruction—the servant whose message had recalled the disobedient to loyalty and life—he cares nothing for the welfare of those to whom he is sent; he has no desire for their good; he regrets their repentance; he mourns over their salvation. He is offended with the God of heaven and earth because there is mercy for others as well as for himself. “*It displeased Jonah exceedingly, and he was very angry.*” He was opposed to the mercy of God, and he is described as declaring this in prayer, as the cause of his disobedience. “*I fled before unto Tarshish; for I knew that thou art a gracious God.*” He was unwilling to preach, because he knew that God was merciful; and he prayed that he might die, because others had received mercy. Therefore he said, “*It is better for me to die than to live.*”<sup>9</sup> This was his deliberate and declared choice, notwithstanding all that he himself had done, and suffered, and seen. With the full manifestation and recognition of the divine mercy he maintains his opposition.

If we consider the magnitude of the evil which Jonah is represented as choosing and desiring, the slightness of the motives which could prompt such a preference, and the strength of the inducements to a better course, it is manifest that the wickedness attributed to the prophet is great beyond expression. If the statements are interpreted literally, the facts are unaccountable, and the record of them is equally unaccountable. The simple and obvious conclusion is, that the book is not a fragment of biography, but a parable.

The dialogue with which the book ends confirms this conclusion, for it has all the characteristics of a parable. Such a

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<sup>9</sup> It is very surprising that an apology for the prayer of Jonah should be found in Elijah's prayer for death. He was a solitary persecuted outcast, who had done his work faithfully, but apparently in vain. The other had, without any such fidelity, obtained the largest success, and was in the highest condition of honour and prosperity, suffering only from his own perverseness.



conversation between man and God is utterly unlike anything recorded in history or biography. The tale ends as the parable of the prodigal son. Any addition concerning the impression made on the mind of the prophet, or of the elder brother, by the remonstrances addressed to them, would be no improvement to the parables.\* But if the tale of Jonah be regarded as a relation of what he really said and did, some acknowledgment of his wrong seems absolutely necessary to its completeness. It surely became him, more than the Ninevites, to confess his sins, and put on sackcloth. Their violence and cruelty were innocence compared with his wickedness.

Though only a part of the book has the outward form of poetry, a poetic character belongs to the whole.† It begins and ends by attributing to the subject of the tale unparalleled folly and inhumanity. It has not the combination of good and evil which belongs to real life, and it does not serve any of the uses of biography; while it is strictly and minutely adapted to the purposes of a parable. The physical marvels which it relates are unlike the miracles of the Bible, and, like the inventions of a tale, designed only for moral instruction. The wickedness of the prophet—set forth with all the antecedents, and accompaniments, and contrasts, which shew its folly, inhumanity, and opposition to the divine character—is as contrary to the conduct of a servant of God as any outward experience could be to the course of nature. The prayer of the sailors in the storm, the prayer of Jonah in the fish, the proclamation of the king respecting men and beasts, and the dialogue respecting the comparative worth of a single plant, and the population of a city in which

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\* The last verses are very beautiful, if taken as the end of a parable. Jonah has been represented as grieving only for his own distress; but now a higher feeling is attributed to him. He *loves* the frail plant, *the son of a night*, and mourns that its life should so quickly end. With this affection of the prophet for the living thing he *loved*, though he had not *laboured* for it, the Divine unwillingness to destroy thousands of nobler beings, little children and cattle, is associated. Certainly, the value of this lesson does not depend on the literal interpretation of the tale.

† On this point Dr. Pusey may be accepted as an authority. "Although written in prose, it has poetic language; not in the thanksgiving only, but whenever it suits the subject."—*Introduction to Jonah*.

were six score thousand little children and much cattle, would never be taken literally, if read in any common Oriental composition. Why, then, should they be so understood in the Bible, which has its many parables, as well as histories, and employs fictions as well as facts to set forth its moral and religious lessons?

If the book be viewed as a parable, all things appear consistent, profitable, and Scriptural. The occasion, purpose, and interpretation of the parable may be readily found. The Jews often boasted that they were the favourites of heaven; they looked on the Gentiles with contempt, and instead of seeking their welfare, found sometimes a wretched satisfaction in anticipating what was supposed to be their doom. Moses and the prophets taught that the Jews were raised above others for the good of others; that they would be better or worse, according to the use or abuse of their privileges; that God had no partiality for any; and that He was merciful to all. But the people became proud in their wickedness, and selfish in their sorrows; they wished to appropriate to themselves all the mercy of God, and were displeased with the prosperity of other nations, if it did not enhance the glory of the people of Israel. The parable is fitted to expose, reprove, and correct this wrong, contrasting the impenitence of Jews with the penitence of Gentiles, and the selfishness of man with the mercy of God. *It exhibits and condemns the religious selfishness of Jews.* For this purpose the principle is separated from the accompaniments by which its influence was commonly mitigated. Its tendency is shewn in the consequences that would then follow. The results set forth in such a representation exceed the real consequences, because no men are for any long time subject exclusively to the influence of bad principles. But this exaggeration of actual results manifests truly the tendency of an evil principle, and helps to a recognition of its moral character. The good and evil, that are not seen in ordinary forms of right and wrong conduct, are at once seen in the enlarged form of an imaginary representation; and when they have been discerned there, they are easily discerned in corresponding realities. Here is the great use of parables in moral instruction. For this use fiction is as good as fact, and sometimes better; and a literal interpretation may

lessen the moral significance of the parable. The Jonah of the parable represents a portion of the Jewish people. As he was unwilling that the mercy of God should extend to Gentiles, so were they. As he disobeyed, and went into banishment, so it had been and would be with them. As he was practically irreligious while professedly religious, so were they. As he was less devout and noble than the heathen, so were some of them. As he was marked out as an evil-doer, and compelled to some confession of wrong before the heathen, so it had been and would be with them. As his disobedience brought him into trouble, so it had been with them. As he called on God in his distress, so had they. As he was marvellously delivered, so often had it been with them and their fathers. As in him there was an outward change of conduct without any inward change of character, so it was with them. As he testified to the sins of others, when his own heart was not submissive to the divine will, so did they. As he did good to others, without intending or desiring it, so did they. As he was reproved by the repentance and faith of Gentiles, so were they. Was he wrong in his opposition to the mercy of God, and were not they guilty of a similar wrong? Should they think that Jews were better than Gentiles, or suppose that the mercy of God was not equally for all men? As He spared the Ninevites, so would He be merciful to all who turned from their evil ways. As one man was made miserable by his selfishness, so must it be with everyone. As only a gourd was given to comfort him when he was without love, so would all their satisfactions be transient, and lead to greater trouble, if they remained uncharitable. As his selfish religion was opposition and contradiction to God, so was all piety that did not promote good will towards man. Thus understood, the parable can never lose its value. That it is so little to the honour of the Jews, and that it sets forth with so much simplicity and strength, the impartiality, the righteousness, and the mercy of God, are the surest proofs that it deserves its place among the Sacred Scriptures, inspired by the Spirit of God, and profitable for instruction and correction in righteousness.

It is not surprising that the interpretation of the parable, which was a reproof of the Jews, should not be acceptable to

their teachers, and should not be preserved in their schools. That it is not the traditional interpretation of the Rabbis, is something in its favour. They would prefer the literal interpretation, both from a love of the marvellous, and because, so understood, the narrative exhibited the Jew, notwithstanding his moral inferiority, and even great wickedness, as still the special favourite of heaven.\*

It must, of course, seem strange to us that for the subject of such a parable a real person should be taken, and an eminent prophet. Why should he be made a type of the worst form of Judaism? Perhaps no answer can be given to this inquiry altogether satisfactory; but this is not of much moment. The question respects the views of an unknown writer, at a period of which little is known; and it is not surprising that his composition should have peculiarities which we cannot explain. It was requisite for the purpose of the parable that the subject should be a Jew, and proper that he should be a prophet, that he might be a representative in religion. A distinguished name might be chosen, according to the practice of some writers of parables, to excite attention and interest, the contents of the parable being deemed enough to shew that it was not designed to be taken literally.\* If in a representation of some prophet of meaner name, statements that he did what no prophet ever did, and experienced what no prophet ever experienced, and felt as no good man in his senses could ever feel—if such statements would be naturally understood figuratively, much more so in respect to one whose reputation must have been of the highest order. He must have been a man of high moral and religious excellence, or his ministry could not have been so effective. His preaching, as that of John the Baptist, was supported by his

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\* It is much to the honour of a Jewish rabbi of the thirteenth century, D. Kimchi, that he should have seen and declared the two great moral lessons of the tale—the inexcusableness of the impenitence of the Jews, who were reformed by the penitence of Gentiles; and the impartiality and mercy of God, who was ready to pardon all who were penitent. Another rabbi taught that there were in the ship with Jonah seventy persons from all the nations of the world.—*Lightfoot*, i., 202, 213.

\* Thus, in the beautiful apologue which teaches forbearance towards the wicked, Abraham is represented as a persecutor.

character. He was a sign to the Ninevites, as Christ was a sign to the Jews. No higher testimony could be given to him. That the Ninevites should be powerfully, though not permanently, affected by his preaching, is not without parallel in ancient and modern times, if we suppose his preaching to have been distinguished by sincerity, sympathy, and earnestness.\* But that without these the minds of men should have been powerfully and beneficially moved by any prophecy, is both unnatural and unscriptural. Such, then, being the real character of Jonah, known to the writer and the first readers of the tale, might it not be well supposed that there was little danger that the parable would be mistaken for biography? A misunderstanding which might arise when the character of the prophet was forgotten, would be impossible when this was remembered. Think of such a man, a prophet honoured with a high mission and great success, desiring the ruin and not the redemption of the people to whom he was sent; declaring the divine mercy, and his own obstinate opposition to it; asking that he might die, because half a million of people had, through his ministry, been saved from destruction. It is quite impossible. A name was wanted for the subject of the parable whose conduct and character represented that of Jews who were, notwithstanding their professions and privileges, without faith, and righteousness, and mercy, and inferior to the Gentiles. Therefore the name of a prophet is selected, who was sent to the heathen, but whose real conduct and character were the reverse of all that is attributed to him; this contrariety shewing that what was said of him was said in a parable, not to be understood of the prophet, but of the people, whose wrong the parable was designed to reprove."

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\* The effects that might follow such a mission to the heathen are referred to by Ezek. iii. 7: "Surely, had I sent thee to them, they would have hearkened to thee." And that the Ninevites had some previous experience of the divine forbearance is implied in the words of Nahum, when he subsequently prophesied against them: "The Lord is slow to anger, and great in power" (i. 3). The ministry of Jonah and of John the Baptist are described in the same way. There is no reason for supposing in either case that it consisted in the utterance of the sentence which expressed its character and purpose.

\* The moral lessons and religious truths taught in the book are universal and divine; but we are not to regard the *form* in which they are presented as

If this explanation be not received, and the selection of the name of the prophet be regarded as unaccountable, does it follow that the tale is not a parable? Certainly not. For if it be supposed to be biography, many difficulties are created, greater far, and equally unaccountable. These difficulties belong not merely to the composition of an unknown author, but to the conduct of the prophet; for this is inconsistent with the character of good men in every age, and with the common principles of human nature. How can we account for the great unwillingness of the prophet to go to Nineveh, for his thinking he could flee from the presence of God by going to Tarshish, for his being less religious and humane than the heathen sailors, and for this being recorded of him? How can we account for his making poetry in the belly of the fish, for his making no confession of sin, or supplication for pardon—no acknowledgment of the righteousness of God, no reference to the good of others? How can we account for the absence of all witnesses to the supposed miracle, for the omission of any reference to it in the preaching of the prophet, for the penitence of the people when he was not penitent, and for their faith in the mercy of God when he was faithless? How can we account for a good man's regretting the repentance of sinners, for any man's being entirely without sympathy in the gladness and gratitude of thousands preserved from ruin? How can we account for one whom others had striven to save, though he had brought them into much trouble, and was confessedly the object of divine displeasure, being opposed to the salvation of those who had done him no harm, and who were the objects of divine mercy? How can we account for one who had recently been mercifully delivered himself, desiring that no mercy should be extended to others? How can we account for a prophet declaring that his knowledge of the mercy of God was the reason of his disobe-

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dictated by inspiration. It may have been determined by opinions, tastes, and customs, belonging to the writer and his age, of which we can know nothing. Taking the view of Jonah's character, which is given by Christ, we argue that the literal interpretation of the parable, where this was known, would be impossible. No deception was intended, nor could any mistake arise till after the lapse of centuries. There was therefore no moral wrong in saying such things of Jonah, whatever may be thought of its literary propriety.

dience, and his witnessing it the cause of a distress which made him desire death rather than life? Why should this wickedness be fully and forcibly exhibited, and there be no intimation of subsequent repentance? If some things are unaccountable on the supposition that the tale is a parable, they are little in comparison with what is unaccountable on the supposition that it is biography or history?

When the tale is regarded as a parable, nothing precious is lost, but all the moral and religious instruction which it has been employed to convey, is fully preserved. Lessons which are obscured by the literal interpretation appear then with more simplicity and power. Suppositions that have been stumbling stones to many are safely and happily removed. The distinction is maintained between the miracles of Bible history, and those which have been produced by deception and delusion. The former are seen to differ from the latter not only in the external evidence of literal testimony, which few are able to appreciate, but also in the internal evidence of moral propriety and usefulness, which is addressed to the understanding and conscience of all men. Many causes have contributed to prevent a due regard to moral considerations in the interpretation of the Bible.\* It is a possible consequence of this, that traditional mistakes should be delivered as the lessons of divine inspiration; and that the marvels of poetic fancy should be associated with the miracles which attested the mission of Moses, the servant of God, and the works more excellent and wonderful of Jesus Christ, the Son of God.

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\* The influence of one false principle, in perverting moral judgment, has its extreme manifestation in the commentary of Jerome on this book. Assuming Jonah to be a type of Christ, he regards all his conduct as highly to be commended, resulting from love to the people of God, and submission to the divine will. Few will go so far as this now, but similar errors remain. Moral considerations are regarded by many with distrust as being peculiarly rationalistic; and that which is free from their influence, though really inferential, and often traditional, is attributed to faith. The lesser rationalists are often condemned by the greater. They who have faith in Christ do not learn of Him to rely implicitly on any human tradition, nor to fear any appeal to common sense. He taught men that they might judge for themselves in opposition to the Scribes and Pharisees, and that they should understand the signs of the times.

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### WHITE'S LIFE AND WRITINGS OF SWEDENBORG.\*

THE man whose name is a household word in the world almost two centuries after his birth, and whose principles are at that distance of time adhered to by a large body of disciples, must have been something extraordinary. This is the case with Emanuel Swedenborg, whose birth occurred in 1688, and whose writings and doctrines are still assiduously promoted. The persistent hold which he has taken upon men's minds cannot be merely due to the strangeness of his opinions; for strange opinions have been advanced by many others, whose names and views are now effete and obsolete. There must be an affinity between the teachings of Swedenborg and the inner constitution of a large number of human souls. This affinity does not, however, demonstrate the absolute truth of those teachings; for we all know that men have sympathies with error as well as with truth, and that the *vraisemblable*, as well as the *vrai*, may long and persistently prevail. And even when a system is not in any proper sense true, it may embody enough of truth to secure its continued vitality under favourable circumstances. But whatever we may think of Swedenborg and his system, we cannot deny that his system has had a powerful influence, nor that its author was a very remarkable man.

Mr. White is, of course, a disciple of Swedenborg's; but he is singularly frank and ingenuous, and he has laboured industriously to give us a true view of the character and writings of the subject of his work. We have read other memoirs of Swedenborg, but we have not seen any to be compared with these; and we shall simply do the author justice in saying that they are by far the best in the English language. What there may be in other languages we do not know; yet we imagine that no biographer of Swedenborg in any language has gone so fairly and fully into the subject. Those, then, who would see how the facts are stated and viewed by a friendly but sober and moderate

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\* *Emanuel Swedenborg: his Life and Writings.* By William White.

"God of old hath for his people wrought

Things as incredible: what hinders now?"—*Samson Agonistes.*

In two volumes. London: Simpkin, Marshall, and Co.



writer, will be wise to read Mr. White's two admirable volumes. It is probable that some of the more zealous of the sect will not be quite satisfied with those very characteristics which are to us a chief excellence. And so there may be some quite opposed to the Church of the New Jerusalem, who will complain on other grounds. But we think, for all that, that the general tone, temper, and execution of the work merit high commendation.

It may be well to sketch the course which Mr. White has pursued. He starts, then, with some account of the parents of Swedenborg; and rightly so, for his father was an ecclesiastic of some distinction in Sweden. Our hero, Emanuel Svedberg, as he was at first called, was born January 29th, 1688. Eighty years later he wrote down his reminiscences of his early childhood; but we may be pardoned for thinking that the prattle of the old man was but a faint echo of that distant infancy. It is St. Paul who says, "When I was a child, I spake as a child, I understood as a child, I thought as a child;" but Swedenborg seems to say, "When I was a child, I spake as a man, I understood as a man, and especially I thought as a man." Mr. White goes further, and suggests something very like a miracle. "About Emanuel there was a strange peculiarity in his respiration. He could hold his breath for a long time without any sense of suffocation. When on his knees at morning and evening prayers, and when absorbed in thought, the action of his lungs became suspended, or tacit, as is the case of one in a trance. This fact should be noted, as it will reappear, with important consequences, in the sequel of our narrative."

This statement is based upon declarations made by Swedenborg himself, who asserted his possession of the faculty of internal respiration many years after. "My breathing was so directed," says he, "without my being aware of it, in order to enable me to be with spirits, and to speak with them."<sup>b</sup>

Of course Mr. White believes this, but we do not, and that is all we have to say about it. Physiologists must decide how long a person in a state of consciousness may continue without respiration.

Swedenborg studied at Upsala, and there, in 1709, took his

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<sup>b</sup> *Spiritual Diary*, quoted by Mr. White, Vol. i., p. 263.

degree as doctor of philosophy. In 1710 he started on his travels, with a view to further improvement, and came to this country. He spent more than a year in London and Oxford, and being fond of science, he chiefly studied mathematics, astronomy, and mechanics. From England he went over to Holland, and thence through Belgium to Paris, where and at Versailles he spent another year. His next move was by way of Hamburg to the university town of Greifswalde,<sup>c</sup> then under Swedish rule. At Greifswalde he remained, awaiting the issue of his father's endeavours to procure him some appointment. His correspondence at this time contains very interesting particulars respecting his studies and mechanical inventions. Now, too, he published his first work—a book of Latin fables. This was in 1715, in which year he went home. Having no settled employment, he next published a book of Latin poems, which no more foretold the future seer than the fables had done. In 1716 he started a new periodical, devoted to mechanical and mathematical subjects, but it expired with the sixth number, in 1718. Having received an appointment as Assessor in the College of Mines, which suited his tastes, he applied himself to his new duties. In 1719 he was ennobled, and his name was changed from Svedberg to Swedenborg. He continued publishing on scientific matters; but it is clear that he had already begun to speculate, as witness a letter on the question whether the sun is the abode of the damned or of the blest; he favoured the latter opinion. Growing discontented and melancholy, he, in 1721, started on a tour which occupied fifteen months. He remained a good while at Amsterdam, and eventually reached Leipsic; and he issued publications at both places. Returning home, he occupied himself in various ways, but printed nothing from 1722 to 1733, when he started for Leipsic with the manuscript of a work which had taken him years to complete—*Opera Philosophica et Mineralia*. The book appeared in 1734, in three folios, and illustrated. Mr. White gives rather a full account of the first volume; and very properly, because it shows how far its author had gone in his philosophical inquiries. The Latin

<sup>c</sup> We follow the German spelling of this name. Mr. White always writes it Griefsvalde.

title is *Principia rerum Naturalium sive Novorum Tentaminum Phænomena mundi Elementaris Philosophiæ explicandi*. These new attempts to explain philosophically the phenomena of the elemental world were every way remarkable; and after reviewing Mr. White's summary of them, we have concluded that they are the first great record of Swedenborg's excursions into dream-land. His letter of 1719, about the sun as the abode of the blest, was the prelude to flights which he never anticipated when he wrote the book which he called *Dædalus*. But when his *Principia* came out in 1734 he had ranged the universe, and had measured and weighed *omne scibile et quedam alia*. How much he owed to Christian Wolf we do not pretend to say; but the use he made of his own previous studies and exercises in mechanical science is palpable enough. The impression produced upon our minds is that his philosophy continually gravitated towards materialism and mechanical forces. The consequence is that we regard his philosophy as often most unphilosophical. As Mr. White says, after Carlyle, Swedenborg's easy "mathematical method" makes "the creation of a world little more mysterious than the cooking of a dumpling." There is this difference, however, the cooking of a dumpling is a material process, but the creations of Swedenborg are a piling of absurdity upon absurdity.

A work he published in 1734, *On the Infinite and the Final Cause of Creation, and the Mechanism of the Intercourse between the Soul and the Body*, is also very unsatisfactory. From 1736 to 1743 he was travelling about Europe, and wrote a good deal. In 1741 he published his *Economy of the Animal Kingdom*, in which he gives the result of his further speculations and researches; and, truth to tell, they would not find much favour with the physiologists of our day. His industry was enormous; he dabbled in everything; he supposed he could fathom the mysteries of nature; and whether men could understand or believe him did not trouble him much. The darker the theme the better he liked it, because it enabled his unbridled imagination to range more freely.

Passing over his *Animal Kingdom*, we come to his *Worship and Love of God*, in which his peculiar fancies are connected

with religion. How anybody can have faith in the teachings of the last-named book is to us a greater marvel than the book itself, which is mainly a fiction of the brain, and that brain a disordered one. His friends, who have raked these dusty tomes out of obscurity, deserve our thanks, because they enable us to see the successive developments of his madness, and the antecedents of his prophetic career. We do not say that those who have brought about this resurrection of his works are mad, but we venture to suggest that they must be very eccentric if they have patience to read them, and can accept them as embodying scientific truth to any great extent. It is tolerably certain that they fell still-born from the press, and had no influence in fostering modern science. From end to end they appear to be a congeries of intellectual vagaries, without life, without beauty, and without the glow of poetry and wit. There is no romance about them; they are grim intellectual skeletons, coloured it may be, but cold and dead. It is mere waste of words to say that books so devoid of higher scientific and literary excellences have little in common with true religious sentiment.

Swedenborg passed from studying things as he saw them, to describing things as he fancied them, and then to regarding the visions of his brain as objective realities. His observations led him on to speculations, and his speculations to revelations. He saw and conversed with angels, spirits, and devils, and was favoured with the perception of all kinds of invisible things. His very dreams were special manifestations; and in describing them he is sometimes disgustingly candid, as Mr. White's extracts testify. The scraps of religious sentiment which are mingled with his other reminiscences do not redeem them from the accusation in question. Augustine went a long way in his *Confessions*, but Swedenborg went so far in his first *Spiritual Diary*, that Mr. White, who is not prudish, dare not ask us to follow him. There is not the shadow of a doubt that he was insane in 1743-4, when the said *Diary* was written; and the *Diary* is not the only witness to the fact. It was in 1744 that he came to England; and from this time, or 1745, must be dated the regular series of his so-called visions. Mr. White does not seem anxious to prove that he was sane about the dates last mentioned, but

regards him as passing through a great physical, intellectual, and spiritual change. We regard it as the natural *denouement* of his previous course, and we suppose he never realized the fact of his mental aberration, nor ever truly recovered, or at any rate permanently so.

On returning to Sweden, in 1745, he resumed the duties of his office of Assessor, but also began to learn Hebrew. In 1747 he retired from his office to follow the new vocation which had been given him. Mr. White has written rather an elaborate defence of Swedenborg's claims to second sight, and uninterrupted intercourse with the spirit world for twenty-seven years; but our disbelief is as obstinate as ever. He says, "History and biography abound in instances of vision into the spiritual world. The Bible is strewn thick with cases from end to end. There is scarcely a family without its sacred traditions of ghostly manifestations, and modern clairvoyance and spiritualism supply a multitude of experiences in illustration and confirmation of Swedenborg's, which cavillers will find it easier to ridicule than to examine and to understand." We are cavillers of course, for we decline to admit the conclusiveness of this argument. There is no resemblance between Swedenborg's visions and those of Scripture. The histories and biographies we do not believe; the sacred traditions of family ghosts are childish; and clairvoyance and spiritualism alone come near to Swedenborg's imaginings. There is, however, a difference here: Swedenborg was sincere but a dreamer, whereas we must treat clairvoyance and spiritualism as downright imposture. To discuss these points is not our purpose, but to state our opinions, and we only add our surprise, that Mr. White should have appealed to such analogies. If he and the Swedenborgians believe in ghosts, clairvoyance, and table-turning, and all that sort of thing, we are sorry for them. Our objections to the genuine reality of Swedenborg's visions and excursions must remain in all their force until we can believe that the unseen is the absurd. The sincerity of Swedenborg and his followers we do not doubt, but that what Swedenborg saw has or had any actual and objective existence is that which we simply disbelieve.

Swedenborg seems to have not questioned the existence of

witches, and in many other details he was by no means above the science of his day; even when he varied and exaggerated it, he found it hard to rise above it. Nor can there be urged in his favour the plea which satisfies us when the Bible writers are in question; their object was not to teach science, and to explain natural existences and occurrences. But here is a man who does aim to teach science.

Dædalus ipse dolos tecti ambagesque resolvit,  
Cæca regens filo vestigia.

He talks about the universe as familiarly as he might about his house, and describes the planets and their inhabitants as minutely as he could his apartments and furniture. He knows all about heaven and hell, angels and spirits, and speaks as positively about them as if none of their secrets were hidden from him. The profoundest mysteries of nature and of religion are freely laid open to his gaze. He pronounces judgments upon Jews and Christians in the most off-hand style. The Moravians have hard measure allotted to them, and are damned without mercy. Of the Quakers he repeats the most atrocious calumnies. David, in the unseen world, "is wicked, and a slave of deceitful spirits, who say they treat him like a dog. His mind is full of cruelty and adultery, and without conscience he meditates and contrives mischief." "Paul associated himself with the worst devils, and wished to form a heaven in which he should be the dispenser of pleasures." Charles XII. "was sent to the most squalid hell where there were swine." Gustavus Vasa is an idiot in hell. In a like amiable style he talks of other celebrities. His account of heaven and hell is so gross and absurd that it might have been invented in China by some one who wished to graft Buddhism upon Christianity; much of it is absolutely loathsome and disgusting for its material and sensual character. In the planet Mercury he saw a woman who wore a linen head-dress; a man who "wore a garment of deep blue, fitted tightly to his body, without folds or frills;" and oxen which were smaller than ours, and in some respects like deer. In Venus there are two kinds of men; one mild and humane, the other savage and brutal. A man living in Mars had no beard, but instead a blackness where the beard grows; the people there live on fruit

and pulse, and wear garments made of the fibrous bark of trees, woven and stiffened with gum. In Jupiter great care is bestowed on the face, which is frequently washed, and kept shaded from the sun; they have wild horses there; and they sit cross-legged at table upon fig-leaves spread on the ground; they have houses and tents, and when in bed lie with their faces to the window. The people of Saturn live on fruit and pulse, and wear a coarse coat or skin. Spirits from the moon are dwarfs like children of seven years old; they do not speak from the lungs, but from air in the abdomen, and with a noise like thunder.

Such are some of the puerilities which we are to receive as revelations! We regard them as the wild hallucinations of a disordered brain.

Swedenborg supposed the last judgment took place in 1757, and that he saw it; but he also supposed there had been two last judgments previously. As there was "method in his madness," it was but natural that the New Jerusalem should follow the last judgment. The Bible of the New Jerusalem contains less than ours, by excluding the following books: Ruth, 1 and 2 Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther, Job, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Canticles, Acts, and all the Epistles of Paul, James, Peter, John, and Jude. The exclusion of some of these books is easily accounted for, as it is manifest they must be false if Swedenborg's doctrine is true.

His friends lay great stress on his alleged power of second sight. They say that when at Gottenburg he saw a fire at Stockholm, 300 miles distant, and related the particulars. The fact is vouched for by various witnesses. Another case is the discovery of a lost receipt for a large sum of money by means of an interview with the spirit of a deceased person. Other instances are also related, and prophecies are naturally appealed to. We cannot discuss these things now; we have read the stories and their attestations, and we remain unbelievers.

It might be expected that we should give some account of Swedenborg's mode of interpreting the Scripture, and of his theological views, but this would require a long discussion. We have read several of his books, and a good deal that has been written about him, and the result is, that we think him one of

the most irrational and heretical teachers we know. There are many things which he ought to have been acquainted with, which he seems to have been ignorant of. He conversed with Athanasius, and speaks of "his creed" in such a way that it is clear he thought it a genuine production of that father. Generally speaking we should say he was profoundly ignorant of Christian literature. He had the Bible,<sup>4</sup> certain common notions, and his scientific and philosophic reminiscences, and out of these, or with the aid of these, he concocted his most eccentric theories. With childish simplicity he says, "The books of the Old Testament have been preserved entire to an iota since the time they were written."

There are many respects in which we utterly repudiate the doctrine of Swedenborg in physiology, in psychology, in Biblical interpretation, in theology, and even in morality. We even hold that some of his teachings under the last head are abominable, and we refer to his treatise on *Conjugal Love* in proof. His admirers will, of course, say, "Evil be to him that evil thinks," and we shall add, "Evil be to him that evil does." Swedenborg never married, but he was not without his mistresses, and could allow them to others. He made divorce a very easy affair in practice, and authorized concubinage as a consequence. On the whole subject of marriage and its related topics he is frank enough to be disgusting, whether earth, hell, or heaven, is the scene.

Sometimes we have found ourselves growing sceptical in regard to his absolute honesty, especially when we have thought of the great convenience of some of his revelations. These very opportune revelations and visions strikingly resemble those of the Mormons and of Mohammed, and remind us forcibly of the frauds of spirit rappers. His interviews with the dead were of the most miscellaneous character, and correspond pretty well with the range of his knowledge. Kings, queens, saints, popes, reformers, and others, figure among them. St. Agnes and St. Geneviève are two of the saints. "Agnes is watched lest she should grow proud!" Geneviève is the patron saint of the Paris of the world of spirits. Swedenborg clearly did not know

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<sup>4</sup> Mr. White says, "The Bible was the entire library of his study." Of this he had copies of several editions.



that Agnes is probably a myth, and that Geneviève herself is very apocryphal. It was all one to him.

For the visions and revelations of Swedenborg we have no proof but his own bare word, and we have as much proof for a whole cart load of similar rubbish, extending from Hermas to our own age. Have not Huguetinus and Friar Robert, Hildegard, Elizabeth and Mathilda, Maria d'Agreda, and a crowd of others, left us their experiences in this line? Matthew Paris records of a monk of Evesham in 1196 that he descended into purgatory in a vision, and saw "an infinite multitude of souls variously tormented; that he saw some souls roasted against the fire, others fried in frying pans, others torn with hot irons that you might see the bones; others again, were tormented in baths of pitch and brimstone, and in melted brass and lead, and others were bitten with the venomous teeth of serpents." Matthew Paris also tells of one Thurcillus, who was carried into purgatory, and relates, that early one Saturday morning, he saw St. Michael the archangel, and the apostles Peter and Paul, arrive in purgatory; that Michael caused all the white souls to pass through the flames of purgatory unhurt; but as for souls which were spotted white and black, St. Peter had them led into the fire to be purified from the spots they had contracted in their lifetime by the contagion of their sins; and St. Paul and the devil were occupied in weighing the black souls. He saw a devil ride upon a black horse, which he galloped and made curvet; and St. Dominic called the devil to him, who told him the black horse was the soul of a certain English nobleman that died without confession, etc., and had been a great oppressor. The ladies and gentlemen who were favoured with these manifestations often went as much into detail as Swedenborg, and, like him, did not scruple to mention the names of persons whom they saw. There is no real difference between some of the mediæval seers and the Swedish revealer; for not only did they have converse with angels and spirits, and visit other worlds, they undertook to supply inspired explanations of natural phenomena and religious doctrines. Why should we reject the visionaries of Rome, and accept the visionary of Protestantism?

We shall not meddle with Swedenborg's theology, nor indeed

shall we enlarge further upon any of his pretensions. He died in 1772, and was buried in London. After his death the first great apostle of his principles was the Rev. John Clowes, a Manchester clergyman, who lived to a great age. The real founder of the sect of Swedenborgians was Robert Hindmarsh, a printer, the son of a Wesleyan preacher; this was in 1782-3. The sculptor Flaxman, and the engraver Sharp, are reckoned among the early disciples, to whom may be added Mr. Gilpin, curate to Fletcher of Madely. The sect has never assumed a prominent position. According to the census of 1851 there were fifty congregations in England—mostly in Lancashire and Yorkshire—with an estimated total of about 7,000 attendants. Mr. White says, the Swedenborgians, as represented by conference, form a corporation of 3,605 members, divided into fifty-five societies. Lancashire and Yorkshire supply 1845 members; other provincial towns, 907; London, 566; and Scotland, 287. There are none in Wales, and none in Ireland. The United States are dotted over with seventy-four small communities, numbering 3,700 Swedenborgians; and a few more are scattered over the world. But for the zeal and liberality of a few active and wealthy members, we should not hear much of Swedenborgianism; and we do not think books like Mr. White's will do much to win converts to it. People who are curious on the subject will do well to read his honest pages, and we conclude by thanking their author for the best account, if not the best refutation of Swedenborg's claims and doctrines.

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M. Champollion-Figeac, the Nestor of French archæologists, died recently at Fontainebleau. He was the son of Champollion, author of the celebrated Egyptian Grammar, and a member of the Institute. He filled for some years the office of Librarian to the Imperial Library, which he resigned when placed at the head of the Commission appointed to organize the archives of France. In this capacity he published a vast number of archæological works, and edited various rare and curious MSS. During the latter years of his life he was Librarian to the Château Impérial of Fontainebleau.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

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[We wish our readers to understand that we cannot be held responsible for the opinions of our contributors and correspondents. The utmost we can do is to keep a careful eye upon the literary character of their communications, and to see that they do not transcend the limits of fair criticism and lawful inquiry.]

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## PROPHECY OF THE WEEKS IN DANIEL IX. 24—27.

In your number for January last, p. 463, the Rev. Josiah Pratt says, "Dr. Pusey (p. 167, note) defends the received chronology against the objections of Krüger and Hengstenberg. The Rev. Franke Parker has recently impugned it in the pages of this Journal, chiefly on the ground of alleged defect in Diodorus's list of archons: but Corsini, in his *Fasti Attici* (tom. i., p. 309, and tom. ii., p. 38) fully vindicates the accuracy of Diodorus."

My position is this:—I hold that this prophecy of Daniel is a special revelation from God, and therefore open to a chronological explanation, when duly understood; but the chronology by which it is to be explained must be a true account of the period involved in the prophecy. I am also convinced that the common chronology for this period cannot be true, because it does not offer a reasonable explanation of the prophecy.

Under this conviction I undertook, many years ago, to investigate the grounds on which the common chronology rested. I discovered that it rested on the chronology of Diodorus Siculus, who flourished about B.C. 50, and that for the period from the Peloponnesian war to the death of Alexander the Great, Diodorus had given a list of the archons of Athens, containing an archon for each year.

During this period Athens was governed by nine archons; but each year was known by the name of the eponymous archon; and, according to Plutarch, *Demet.*, i., 893, the name of the eponymous archon was inserted as the date in their decrees and contracts, and in one of the decrees, given by Demosthenes in his *De Coronâ*, the archon Chæronidas is given as its date, and his name is found in Diodorus's list as an eponymous archon.

In my investigation I also discovered evidence of there having been twenty years more during this period than are assigned to it by Diodorus; and this evidence came from different authors, wholly unconnected with each other, and referred not merely to one kingdom, but to four, namely, Persia, Macedon, Rome, and Athens.

From this it would follow that there must have been twenty more eponymous archons at Athens during this period than are given by Diodorus. This led me to Lysias and Demosthenes, who lived at Athens during the period.

From Lysias (*Mun. accep. Defens.*, p. 183) I learnt that the interval between Diocles and Alexias, at the end of the Peloponnesian war, must have been seven years; but it is given by Diodorus as only five years, and in the *De Coronâ* of Demosthenes I found the names of nine archons given as dates in the time of Philip of Macedon; and some of them are in decrees, but not one of them is to be found in the list of Diodorus. From this it would follow that there must have been at least nine years more during this period than are assigned to it by Diodorus.

This difficulty (as noticed by Corsini) has attracted the attention of Scaliger, Sigonius, Meursius, Lydiat, Dodwell, and Palmerius; but they are not agreed as to the solution, and it is to the solution offered by Corsini that Mr. Pratt refers in his reference to the *Fasti Attici* of Corsini (tom. i., p. 309); but I submit that the solution of Corsini is far from conclusive. He does not deny that these decrees, noticed by Demosthenes, were passed, but endeavours to fix their Olympic dates, and then concludes that the archons mentioned by Demosthenes must be pseudonymous, because Diodorus has given other archons for these Olympic years.

Mnesiphilus is one of the archons mentioned by Demosthenes, and Corsini endeavours to prove that the decree, in which his name is given as the date, must have passed 108 Olym. 2; and then, in his tom. i., p. 351, he says, "If, therefore, Mnesiphilus was archon in 108 Olym. 2, in which year Themistocles occurs in the *Fasti*, it cannot certainly be doubted but that he ought to be regarded as pseudonymous." But, in a matter which happened in the time of Demosthenes, ought we not to prefer the testimony of Demosthenes to that of Diodorus, who lived three hundred years afterwards, especially as Diodorus is also contradicted (as I have noticed) by Lysias?

I also consulted the late Dr. Donaldson on the subject of these decrees, and his reply was,—“It is not an uncommon opinion that these documents are spurious, and German scholars have written a good deal on the subject; for instance, Westermann, ‘*De litis instrumentis quæ extant in Demosthenis oratione in Midiam.*’” The plain inference from this is, that these German scholars were not satisfied with the solution of the difficulty offered by Corsini and others, and the author of these decrees (even if spurious) must have thought his

archons were truly eponymous archons, or he would be knowingly furnishing a ready means of detection of his forgery.

I have also compared Diodorus's list of archons with the archons which are given by the Parian Chronicle, and this must have been erected only forty—or, as my opponents say, sixty—years after the death of Alexander; that is, rather more than two hundred years before the time of Diodorus. The first result is, that Lysias is most strictly confirmed by the Chronicle as to the interval between Diocles and Alexias; and the next result is, that the archonship of Aristocrates, in the 135th year of the Marble era, and all the other archons of Diodorus down to the archonship of Agathocles, in the 93rd year of the Marble era, must have been three years further from the Peloponnesian war than they are given by Diodorus.

It is in reference to the Parian Chronicle that Mr. Pratt refers to Corsini (ii., 38). But I must produce a portion of this page. Corsini here says,—“If, therefore, in making up a list of archons, and referring their date to Olympic years, we must admit that there is some difference between the Marble Chronicle and all other writers, who does not clearly see that either some mistakes have crept into the Marble in different places by the fault of the engraver, or certainly a manifest error and variation must be admitted in the Fasti, which the author of the Marble or Diodorus himself and the other authors used. But that this great blot could not have been in the Fasti of Diodorus, the constant and clearly wonderful agreement which is almost everywhere seen between the list of Diodorus and all other writers demonstrates. For many and almost all the archons which are reckoned by Diodorus in a continued series from 75 Olym. to 95 Olym., are mentioned also by Thucydides, Xenophon, Lysias, Plutarch, and many others, and reduced to the same Olympic years, so that there remains no room for doubt that Diodorus fell upon the entire and accurate Fasti of Apollodorus, or of some other archon, especially as Diodorus is wont to quote the Fasti or Chronica of Apollodorus.” This is a very strong opinion in favour of Diodorus; but, as I have noticed, Diodorus is most clearly contradicted by Lysias, and Corsini does not stop here, but goes on, and immediately says,—“But it is very far from the truth that the author of the Marble fell upon Fasti, so depraved, that the date of archons should differ from other common Fasti by the space not only of a whole year, but sometimes also of two years, and sometimes of three years; especially as in his time there were carried about not only other older Fasti, which were approved by Demosthenes and Aristotle, but also modern Fasti,

written by Demetrius Phalereus forty years before, were exposed to the eyes of all."

I presume Mr. Pratt had not read thus far, or he would scarcely have appealed to this page of Corsini as conclusive against myself, and, with this testimony of Corsini to the Parian Chronicle, it seems strange that any one should rely on the *Faḯti* of Diodorus. Nor must it be supposed that Corsini meant that the dates of any archons had been reduced to Olympic years either by Thucydides, Xenophon, or Lysias.

The variation between Diodorus and the Chronicle as to the interval between Callias (75th Olym.) and Aristocrates (95th Olym.) is but one year, and Corsini thinks it may be reconciled; but their variation as to the interval between Diocles and Alexias is (as I have noticed) two years, and in this the Marble is confirmed by Lysias, and their variation as to the interval between the Peloponnesian war and Aristocrates is three years, and in this the Marble is confirmed by Demosthenes and Polybius. Nor is it only in respect to the archons of Athens that Diodorus is contradicted by the Parian Chronicle. The Chronicle places the death of Artaxerxes Memor of Persia eight years, and the accession of Philip of Macedon six years further from the Peloponnesian war than they are placed by Diodorus. On these grounds especially I hold that the chronology of Diodorus ought to be rejected; and on the other authorities to which I have referred, I hold that all the years omitted by Diodorus between the Peloponnesian war and the death of Alexander must have been twenty. This would raise the reign of Artaxerxes, who died in the seventh year of the Peloponnesian war, twenty years, and would place his seventh year in B.C. 478, instead of B.C. 458.

We are agreed that the going forth of the commandment to restore and to build Jerusalem (Dan. ix. 25) was in the seventh of this Artaxerxes Longimanus, though we differ as to whether it was in B.C. 478 or B.C. 458.

I must now notice the year in which Mr. Pratt places the crucifixion of Jesus Christ. He places it in A.D. 29; but in your p. 469, he says, "But it is quite a *vexed question* whether this date can be reconciled with the two dates in Luke iii. 1. I feel confident that it can. 1. St. Luke says that the Baptist began in the fifteenth year of the ἡγεμονία of Tiberius Cæsar. The fifteenth year of Tiberius's reign would be A.D. 28—29, which does not suit my purpose. St. Luke, however, does not say the μοναρχία or βασιλεία

of Tiberius, but his *ἡγεμονία*—a more general term, as appears from his saying in the very next clause, that Pilate *ἡγεμονέυε τῆς 'Ιουδαίας*." The word *ἡγεμονία* occurs nowhere else in the New Testament; but it is used by Josephus and Philo, who lived in the time of St. Luke. Josephus, *Life*, sec. 1, says of himself, "I was born to Matthias in the first year of the reign (*ἡγεμονίας*) of Caius Cæsar. I have three children. Hyrcanus, the eldest, was born in the fourth year of the reign (*ἡγεμονίας*) of Vespasian Cæsar." In *Wars*, iii. 7—16, Josephus says, "Jotapata was taken in the thirteenth year of the reign (*ἡγεμονίας*) of Nero;" vi. 10, "Jerusalem was taken in the second year of the reign (*ἡγεμονίας*) of Vespasian.

In *Ant.*, xviii. 2, 2, Josephus says, "Tiberius Nero succeeded Cæsar (Augustus) in the kingdom (*ἡγεμονίαν*) chap. vi. 10. Tiberius declared Caius to be his successor in the kingdom (*ἡγεμονίας*)."  
*Wars* ii., 9, 5, "Tiberius died, having reigned (*ἡγεμονέυσας*) twenty-two years, six months, and three days."

Philo, *De Virtutibus*, tom. ii., 566, says that Tiberius, who was before Caius, and procured the kingdom (*ἡγεμονίας*) for him, reigned twenty-three years; p. 570, "When Tiberius died, Caius succeeded to the kingdom" (*ἡγεμονίαν*).

Tacitus, *De Orator.*, xvii., gives the reign of Tiberius as twenty-three years, and, in his *Annals*, gives the Consuls of Rome year by year for twenty-four years, beginning with Sextus Pompeius and Sextus Apuleius (in whose time Augustus died), and ending with Cn. Acerronius and C. Pontius (in whose time Tiberius died), and in lib. iv., 1, Tacitus gives C. Asinius and C. Anstitius (the ninth pair after S. Pompeius, and S. Apuleius) as the consuls in the ninth year of Tiberius.

From this use of the term by the Jews, Josephus and Philo, who lived in the time of St. Luke, we presume no doubt can exist that St. Luke, by the fifteenth year of the (*ἡγεμονία*) of Tiberius, must have meant the fifteenth year of his reign after the death of Augustus. Further, as the joint reign of Tiberius with Augustus was but three years, how could St. Luke have spoken of the fifteenth year of it? Thus, the preaching of the Baptist must have begun between 19 Aug., A.D. 28, and 19 Aug., A.D. 29, that is, in the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius; for Augustus died 19 Aug., A.D. 14. Thus, the baptism of Jesus may have been after the Passover in A.D. 29, and if His crucifixion took place at the fourth Passover after His baptism, it must have been in A.D. 33, that is, in the nineteenth Tiberius. That there were two Passovers between his baptism and the Passover at which He was crucified, is evident from John ii. 23; vi. 4.

In John v. 1, we also read of a feast of the Jews, when Jesus went up to Jerusalem, and this was held by Irenæus, ii. 22, p. 147, to have been a Passover. But whether this feast was a Passover or not, it clearly must have been in the year which followed the year of the Passover, John ii. 2, 3, and preceded the year of the Passover, John vi. 4, and thus there must have been at the least three Passovers between the baptism and the crucifixion of Jesus if the baptism took place after the Passover, John ii. 23. But the crucifixion must have been on a Friday, at a full moon (Philo, *De Mose*, iii., tom. ii., p. 169), when the sun was in Aries (Joseph., *Ant.* iii., 10—5). According to Columella, the sun entered Aries the 17th March. Justin Martyr, *Apol.* i., 67, says, "They crucified Jesus on the day before Saturday." Augustin, *Epist.* xxxvi., tom. ii., p. 80, says, "No one doubts that the crucifixion was on the sixth day of the week." Ferguson, in his *Astronomy*, p. 390, says, "I find by calculation, the only Passover full moon that fell on a Friday, for several years before or after the disputed year of the crucifixion, was on the 3d of April in the 4746th year of the Julian period" (A.D. 33). Ferguson also says, in p. 391, "This was the fourth year of the 202nd Olympiad, in which year Phlegon, a heathen writer, tells us that *there was the most extraordinary eclipse of the sun that ever was seen*. But, I find by calculation, that there could be no total eclipse of the sun at Jerusalem, in a natural way, in that year. So that what Phlegon here calls an eclipse of the sun seems to have been the great darkness for three hours at the time of our Saviour's crucifixion, as mentioned by the Evangelists."

This finding of Ferguson, being in such strict accordance with the tradition of Phlegon, should leave no doubt as to A.D. 33 being the true year of the crucifixion. And this must seriously disturb Mr. Pratt's interpretation of Daniel's prophecy, to say nothing of the removal of the seventh of Artaxerxes, for the beginning of his period from B.C. 458 to B.C. 478.

FRANKE PARKER.

*Luffingcott, Devon.*

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## ON A REVISED TRANSLATION OF THE SCRIPTURES.

THE writer of the *Plea for a Revised Translation of the Scriptures* has, I am sure, the sympathy of many of the Bible-reading public with him; but, while he has occasionally stumbled at venial errors in our version, he has inadvertently fallen himself into one. A very



venial error it is, we think, to omit the article where the idiom of the English language will not gracefully admit it. It is very doubtful indeed whether heaven does not express to an English mind all that is necessary, although the Jew conceived of the heavens as consisting of a series of arches. Nor is it certain that "evil" in the Lord's Prayer does not convey the main idea intended by our Lord, though there are commentators who believe that Satan is meant. At all events, "the evil" would sound harsh and foreign to our ears, and if the article be supposed to intensify the notion, even "all evil" would be preferable to "the evil." A great deal depended upon the whole rhythm of a clause or sentence, as is apparent even to English ears.

Why should we read in Mark xii. 36, "For David himself said *ἐν τῷ πνεύματι τῷ ἁγίῳ*" (compare Mark i. 8, Matt. iii. 11, where the article is omitted, though *ἅγιος* is added), but in Matt. xxii. 43, "How then does David, *ἐν πνεύματι*, call him Lord?" Doubtless the Holy Spirit is signified as much in one of these passages as in the other, but the use or omission of the article was governed by principles of euphony. There are, indeed, other cases in which its employment or otherwise is regulated by certain fixed laws. We are only pointing attention to what is a perfectly distinct thing, viz., that *the article is not necessary in all cases in our language to represent the article in the Greek and Hebrew Old and New Testaments*. This is too patent to need proof, for (to quote an instance from Gesenius's *Grammar*) no one would render 1 Sam. xvii. 34, "there came *the* lion and *the* bear," though the Hebrew has the article. Again, in p. 166 of your *Journal*, we read as follows:—"In Acts xii. 10, the iron gate is said to have "opened to them of HIS own accord," as though it were an intelligent creature. But if the reviewer consulted any good grammar of the English language, he would see that HIS, in the time of our translation, was used for ITS. It was, therefore, no "inaccuracy" on their part, however awkward such an expression would now be in the English of common life. "Its" is a recent form for "his," and gradually took the place of that pronoun, which was common enough in 'the sense found fault with in other parts of the Bible and in Shakespeare. It has been observed that in Numbers iv. 9, the candlestick has "her tongs" in Wickliffe's version, and "hise lanternes" in Purvey's. In neither does "its" occur. In Matthews's Bible (1537), the candlestick is feminine; in our version, masculine; while at the end of the verse the candlestick is referred to by the form "it," which was a genuine neuter of "he." In the opening scene of *Hamlet*, we find—

"When yon same star that's westward from the pole  
Had made *his* course to illume that part of heaven  
Where now *it* burns."

"The apoplexy is, as I take it, a kind of lethargy.  
I have read the cause of *his* effects in Galen ;  
It is a kind of deafness."—2 *Henry IV.*, i. 2.

Luke xiv. 34, 35, "If the salt have lost *his* savour, wherewith shall *it* be seasoned," etc.—See Dr. Latham's *English Language*

No part of the Bible would benefit more by a new translation than the prophets. Take, for example, Isa. xxiii. throughout, where an accurate version would help to throw light upon the real political position of Tyre at that time. Dr. Williams has not improved the elegance of the Authorized Version, nor elucidated the obscurities of the original, though it is a benefit to the English reader to read Nile in verse 2 instead of Sihor. But a thorough investigation and retranslation of Isaiah, with especial reference to difficult and rare words and phrases, would tend to overthrow the conclusions of Dr. Williams and his authorities on the subject of the authenticity of chaps. xl.—lxvi., and several other chapters, among which is this very chap. xxiii. It would help to prove that as far as the *modus loquendi* is concerned, there is all the resemblance between Isa. i.—xi. (nearly all that they will allow us of the old prophet) and the rest, which might be expected in the writings of one who wrote so well and prophesied so long.

H. F. W.

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#### MR. HINTON'S METAPHYSICAL VIEWS.

I HAVE perused the article in the current number of *The Journal of Sacred Literature*, on Mr. Hinton's *metaphysical views*. I have read this paper with much pleasure, not only because it is the work of a friendly hand uplifted in Mr. Hinton's defence, but because it is written in a very gentlemanly manner, so far as Mr. Hinton's opponent is concerned.

I do not think it would serve any good purpose were I to reply to the defence. The attack and the defence are both before your readers, and let *them* decide as to the merits of the matters in controversy.

It may be that I, the author of "Panthéism in Particular," have mistaken what is Mr. Hinton's meaning in places in his book. It was not an easy matter at times to say what Mr. Hinton meant, and

if the writer of the essay now in question understands his friend better than I did, he has the advantage of me; but there is no wonder. Mr. Hinton's defender is (as I make no doubt) a personal friend, and knowing from other sources the sentiments entertained by Mr. Hinton, he goes so armed to the reading of the book, and by that means sees in it a good deal which may be there only because such and such meanings are taken to the book. But I was differently situated. I had only the book to guide me, and, if I mistook its meaning, I only did what I am afraid many others will do likewise. I opine that this defender allows that Mr. Hinton is anything but a clear expounder of his own views. All I shall add is, that I at least searched for the meaning of "Man and his Dwelling-place." Intentional misrepresentation there is none.

The author of this essay confounds the author of "Pantheism in General" (my friend, J. W. Jackson, F.A.S.L.) with me, the author of "Pantheism in Particular." Hence there seems some point in quoting places in No. 1 against the author of No. 2. But I am sure my friend Mr. Jackson will join me in thanking Mr. Hinton's defender for his courteous animadversions; nay, I shall go the length of saying that this author is generous when he compliments us, the "antagonists," in the way he has done in various places. W. G.

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#### NOTE ON PSALM LXXXIX. 10.

It is somewhat remarkable that the tenth verse of Psalm lxxxiv., both in our Bible and in the Common Prayer Book versions, should be allowed to be continued imperfect, and its *hiatus* still unsupplied with some word or words to render it strictly comprehensible to the reader, and more especially to young and illiterate persons.

The verse as it now stands is this:—"For one day in thy courts is better than a thousand." Now in the ordinary acceptance of this rendering, to say that *one* day is better than a *thousand* in God's courts is incorrect, and it shews that it clearly wants the *addition* of something to make it plain and consistent with sense. It may, therefore, be thus read:—"for *one* day in *God's courts* is better than a *thousand* in *other courts*;" or, as I have always myself supplied the deficiency with one word, as follows:—"for *one* day in God's courts is better than a thousand *elsewhere*:" either of these interpretations will render the verse intelligible to everyone, even of the lowest capacity.

In the old metrical version of Sternhold and Hopkins, the same verse is thus rendered and supplied :—

“ For why ? within Thy courts one day  
Is better to abide,  
Than *other* where to keep or stay,  
A thousand days *beside*.”

In the new version by Brady and Tate, we find the same given as follows :—

“ For in Thy courts one single day  
'Tis better to attend,  
Than, Lord, *in any place besides*,  
A thousand days to spend.”

Our great Milton has done the same into verse, in these words :—

“ For one day in Thy courts *to be*  
Is better *and more blest*  
Than *in the joys of vanity*  
A thousand days *at best*.”

Here the poet supplies the *hiatus* with a different sense, and not that of a *place*—as “ the joys of vanity.”

In a somewhat like sense, Bishop Horne comments on this passage thus :—“ One day spent in meditation and devotion affordeth a pleasure far, far superior to that which an *age of worldly prosperity* could give.” So Dr. Hammond would add after a thousand,—“ in any *other condition*.”

But on referring to Martin Luther's German translation, I find the following given :—“ Denn ein tag in deinen vorhöfen ist besser, denn *sonst* tausend.” There he has properly inserted the word “ *sonst*,” meaning *in another place*. This admirable translator then fully confirms my own reading with “ *elsewhere*.”

Both the Vatican and Alexandrine Greek versions of the Psalms are the same as our English translation, *i.e.*, without the hiatus being supplied. So likewise is the text in the Latin Vulgate. Although in the Latin *Biblia Sacra* of Tremellius and Junius (Amst. 1669) the deficiency is made up by the word *alibi*,—“ nam melior est dies *unus* in atriis tuis, quam mille *alibi*.” And the French Translators of “ La Sainte Bible,” Edit. *Paris*, 1805, adopt the same meaning as the last :—“ Car un jour *vaut* mieux dans tes parvis, que mille *ailleurs*.”

February 25th, 1867.

J. H.

## NOTICES OF BOOKS.

*Egypt's Place in Universal History : an Historical Investigation, in Five Books. Vol. V., containing the Epilogue, or Problems and Key ; the complete Hieroglyphical Dictionary and Grammar ; a Comparison of Egyptian and Semitic Roots ; the Book of the Dead ; and a Select Chrestomathy of Historical Hieroglyphical Texts.* By C. C. J. BARON BUNSEN, D. Ph., D.C.L., and D.D. Translated from the German by CHARLES H. COTTRELL, Esq., M.A. : with Additions by SAMUEL BIRCH, LL.D. London : Longmans, Green and Co.

THAT "many hands make light work" is only sometimes true, for here is a work to which many of the ablest hands in Europe have contributed, without finding it light. Bunsen began the publication of his own work in German we believe in 1845, and the first volume appeared in English in 1848. The translation of the present volume was not completed when Mr. Cottrell was removed, and indeed Bunsen himself did not live to finish his own part. Dr. Birch, the editor, has made numerous and important additions, and he acknowledges the aid rendered by Dr. Rieu and Dr. Bernays. The hieroglyphic type, which has been so valuable an adjunct in preparing the volume, was cast by Mr. Branston from the designs of Mr. Bonomi, whose skill in such matters is unrivalled. Dr. Birch rather suggests than says how much praise is merited by the liberality of the publishers in supplying this fount of type, when he observes : "It is the sole hieroglyphical fount in this country, and its importance can only be sufficiently appreciated from the consideration that Messrs. Longman have fulfilled, at a heavy cost, a task only undertaken abroad by foreign governments." The dictionary, grammar, and chrestomathy, will greatly facilitate the study of the ancient Egyptian. "The dictionary is the only one hitherto printed in this country, nor has any hieroglyphical dictionary appeared elsewhere except that of Champollion, published in 1841, which contained only a few of the principal words." The grammar, also, is much more copious than that of Champollion, published in 1836. The extracts comprised in the chrestomathy have been selected with reference to their historical importance. The earlier portion of the volume is chiefly occupied with chronological questions and results. Bunsen, as is well known, referred the origination of mankind to Central Asia in 20,000 B.C., the era of the Babylonian empire to B.C. 3784,

and the era of Menes to 3059 B.C. He regards the conventional epoch of 4000 B.C. as the starting point of chronological history. It is worth noting, that while he dated the origin of man so far back, he believed in the physical unity of the human race.

The translation of the "Book of the Dead," by Dr. Birch, is a marvellous evidence and result of patient, we had almost said, obstinate perseverance and learned research. A very good account of it is given by the translator, but those who would see how far Ritualism, as developed in this ancient manual, was carried among the Egyptians, must read it. Uncouth and allegorical as much of it is, it will reward the reader, and prove to him that the Egyptians held very positive opinions respecting the invisible world, and the condition of the dead. Sometimes the document reminds us very forcibly of what we were wont to regard as peculiar or native to the Greeks, but there is no doubt the Greeks borrowed from the Egyptians. Occasionally we are reminded of expressions in the Old Testament.

Passing over the dictionary, and grammar, and chrestomathy, already alluded to, we must mention the Appendix, in which are sundry comparisons of Egyptian and Shemitic words, and other philological matters of interest. These are followed by Greek fragments of Philo Byblius, with copious Latin notes; and after these again come other miscellaneous passages relating to cosmogony and mythology. The whole concludes with an index to the five volumes.

On some accounts the delay in the appearance of this volume must be regretted; but not on all; for it has led to the introduction of much that was inaccessible when Bunsen laid aside his pen. Those who have the previous volumes will be glad of the additional confirmation on sundry points; and all who are interested in Egyptian studies will rejoice in the fact that now at length they have really valuable helps in the most practical form,—a grammar, a dictionary, and a chrestomathy, based on principles which have stood the test of trial, and embodying the latest discoveries. We cannot, of course, enter upon a detailed criticism of the various treatises, etc., embodied in this very erudite volume, but we can appreciate the toil, talent, and learning, which have combined to produce it, and we can realize the great worth of whatever promotes a better and more perfect understanding of the mysteries of that land of Ham which has been a wonder and a magnet to men of scientific, philosophical, and antiquarian tastes, for two or three thousand years past.

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*The Inspiration of Scripture : its Limits and Effects.* By GEORGE WARINGTON. London : W. Skeffington.

THE subject of inspiration has of late been very frequently discussed, and widely different opinions have been advanced in relation to it, but it is a subject which can be viewed under so many different aspects, that it is no wonder Mr. Warington finds something fresh to say. He admits that the inspired writers received a divine impulse from without, but he is far from accepting any theory which would involve what is called the verbal inspiration of Holy Scripture. He maintains that the sacred penmen erred in many ways, and he finds the proof of this in what they wrote,—a proof so abundant that it involves hundreds of texts both of the Jewish and of the Christian Scriptures. We have no doubt the book will give much offence to many, and the author must expect to be severely handled for making so many concessions to critics of a certain order. We have not ourselves advocated the plenary verbal inspiration of every text, nor have we held that every text is inspired in the same degree, but we are not at all inclined to go so far as Mr. Warington. Nor are we satisfied that his explanation of single passages is always the best ; for instance, he says, “ In Mark i. 2, 3, we have two passages concerning John the Baptist—Mal. iii 1, and Isa. xl. 3, which are grouped together as if one, and introduced with the phrase, As it is written in *Isaiah* the prophet.” In a foot-note he refers to the evidence for this reading as opposed to the one in our version, suggesting that evidence for it reaches back to the second century, which is perhaps true ; but it should be noted that Irenæus is also quoted for the received text ; and in any case the importance attached to the supposed inaccuracy is too great. Jerome thought Isaiah’s name had been inserted by some foolish copyist, whereas Mr. Warington, after Porphyry’s example, lays the blame upon the Evangelist. Still more objectionable is the use made of Jeremiah’s name in the received text of Matt. xxvii. 9, where we have other well supported readings. Now, on principle, we should demur to any such passages being quoted as evidence in this question of inspiration ; and there are passages of other kinds, especially those involving numbers and proper names, upon which we would lay no stress whatever ; and, generally speaking, all that may only involve the verbal accuracy of manuscripts is better left out. The question is a broader and a deeper one than of mere words. Our great fear is that Mr. Warington, in his zeal to refute verbal inspiration, has produced a book which will be hailed as proving the absence of all supernatural inspiration. His own professions of faith are frequent and earnest ; but our enemies will

regard them as weakness and prejudice, and say his book leaves them no foundation. He has pursued so doggedly the real or supposed inaccurate statements of fact in Scripture, that his book will be quite a little arsenal for such as delight in those things; and when they come to page 236, and find him turning over a new leaf, they will not be likely to follow him. The book has been cast in a wrong mould; and its author will probably see it used both against himself and against the Bible. We are sorry for it; but, as we much respect Mr. Warrington, we will not conclude this notice without allowing him to make the following very important statement:—"It is not pretended here to build up the doctrine of inspiration from its very foundations, to prove that the Bible is from God and not from man; that the revelations it contains are true, or anything of that kind. We proceed avowedly on the assumption that these things are so, that the Bible *is* from God, *is* supernaturally inspired. Any objection, therefore, which touches the validity of this assumption, however intrinsically important, is here irrelevant. It belongs to that earlier stage of the inquiry not here designed to be entered upon" (p. 249). We hope the author will at once hasten to draw up and publish something to shew more fully *why* and *how* he believes the Bible to be from God, and to be supernaturally inspired.

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*Sermons, Doctrinal and Didactic, bearing on the Religious Topics of the Day.* By THOMAS WILLIAMSON PEILE, D.D.

No inconsiderable portion of published sermons might be fairly noticed by a reviewer in precisely the same terms, in uniform language of deserved commendation; in fact, one and the same notice might be written of them all, as alike presenting the same praiseworthy features. There is, accordingly, the more reason for calling attention to such as wear some mark of originality in matter or manner, or both these points. Such plea is possessed by the present volume. The first five sermons are mainly on topics which have been especially debated of late, and are marked off from the remainder by an appendix of critical notes. The sixth has for its text, Gal. iii. 22. It opens with a plainly stated and simple interpretation of the clause, "but God is one." How far the interpretation is new can only be known to one who may have achieved the rare feat of reading and remembering the almost countless expositions which that brief passage has been made to carry, and which, viewed in the mass, might be symbolized by a huge pyramid standing on its apex. The reasonings and drift of the Apostle are there well and boldly drawn out, preliminary to the enforcement of



practical conclusions, with which the sequel of the discourse is occupied. A group is formed by the discourses on Justification by Faith, touching on the Atonement, the Atonement itself, and the Resurrection in its grand parabolic aspect. These matters, well worn as they are weighty, are handled pointedly and forcibly, and with some amount of novel illustration. Those that follow in due course, on the Holy Ghost, with special reference to the title the Comforter, and on the Trinity, complete the first half of the series, the part which is more especially doctrinal.

The sermon on Dives and Lazarus exhibits a sound—indeed, the only sound—principle of parabolic interpretation. The real lesson of a parable has too often been clouded, or even lost, in the hands of an expounder, by the system of attaching a several significance to points of the story which are no more than the fillings in of the picture, and, as such, in no way didactic. The parable in question has been still more unfortunate, because its supposed teachings have been actually drawn from its blanks. The author has not gone out of the record. “The awfully interesting and instructive parable which our Lord thus sums up I have less need to repeat at length than to point out to you the key to its right interpretation and improvement; and this you will find in the twenty-fifth verse, hid (as it seems to me) in those words of the patriarch, ‘thy good things.’ ‘Son, remember that in thy lifetime thou receivedst’—in the original text, ‘hadst full receipt of’—‘*thy* good things,’ all that thou didst account and seek unto as the blessings of man’s life on earth; ‘and likewise,’ on the same principle, under the same estimate of what constitutes comfort and happiness, ‘Lazarus’ had only ‘evil things’ as his earthly portion.”

A kind of companion sermon follows on Mark ix. 49, 50. On the opening sentence of the text the author says:—“Just as when, of what should be seen on the Day of Pentecost, our Lord’s forerunner said, ‘He shall baptize with the Holy Ghost *and* fire,’ the tongues of flame which sat on each of the Apostles symbolized and signified the purifying, the enlightening, the comforting and sustaining influences which thenceforth should be with them and with the Church through all time; and just as when St. Paul invites baptized men to ‘draw near’ to God, ‘in full assurance that from their self-condemning consciousness of evil they have had their hearts sprinkled *and* their bodies washed,’ the outward sign is glanced at as the symbol to faith of what God gives in baptism, free ‘forgiveness of sins;’ so in this dark saying, ‘Every one shall be salted with fire, *and* every sacrifice shall be salted with salt,’ understand the sign, and that which our Lord would have us learn

from it, to be placed side by side, understand the closely-connecting 'and' to mean 'even as,' and at once we see both what an ancient requirement of the Levitical law foreshadowed, and what the Spirit who 'guides us to all the truth' of Scripture would have us recognize and lay to heart as the fulfilment thereof."

The subjects that come next are, Holy Communion, and the Congregational Breaking of the Consecrated and Symbolical Bread; and the author has followed up this topic by a sermon since separately published, and aimed at certain practices of the day. The Church is then set forth in three particular aspects—the Church in the House, the Church in its Inner Life, and the Church in the Closet. Another trio is devoted to the Sabbath, shewing, first, Sabbath-tide as an ordinance universal and indefeasible; secondly, its strict Jewish phase, as carrying with it no perpetual bond; and, thirdly, the Lord's Day, as a rule and blessing for ever. The last note struck is spiritual Church-building.

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*Christocracy; or, Essays on the Coming and Kingdom of Christ. With Answers to the principal Objections of Post-Millennarians.* By JOHN T. DEMAREST and WILLIAM R. GORDON. New York: A. Lloyd; London: Trübner and Co.

THOSE who are interested in the branch of prophetic study indicated by the foregoing title, should read this book, the substance of which first appeared in the columns of an American paper. The authors industriously and zealously accumulate precedents in favour of Chiliasm, state and reply to numerous objections, and lay down and defend the principles of their system. Of the merits of that system we say nothing, because we should like to justify any opinions we might advance. Meanwhile, the book may be regarded as an able exposition and defence of the premillennial scheme, which, in one form or another, is accepted by many learned and excellent Christians.

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*The Complete Works of Thomas Brooks.* Edited, with Memoir, by Rev. A. B. GROSART. Vol. IV. Edinburgh: James Nichol.

THIS volume of Brooks contains his "Crown and Glory of Christianity," a copious dissertation on Heb. xii. 14. We earnestly recommend it to those who wish to see a specimen of the thoroughly exhaustive treatment of a great subject by one of the best of the Puritan divines. We have often spoken well of the series it belongs to, as a cheap and well edited republication of some of the most important religious and theological works of the seventeenth century.

*Who giveth Songs in the Night : Words of Comfort for the Sorrowing Children of God.* By the Author of "Christian Manliness," etc.  
London : Religious Tract Society.

THE title of this book clearly describes its character, and suggests its spirit; but it is rather to be regretted that the former portion of it is already indelibly associated with the long-known and popular poems of Susanna Harrison. The volume before us is eminently practical, and as a means of comfort it is wisely designed, to prove which it is only needful to say that it contains many little anecdotes and records of fact. Overwhelming sorrow and irrepressible tears, so far as reason and persuasion are concerned, may often be appeased by the narration of a few facts.

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*The Epistle of Clement of Rome to the Corinthians. With an Introduction and Notes.* The translation by B. HARRIS COWPER. London : Religious Tract Society.

THE object of this version of the really genuine epistle of Clement, is to inform ordinary persons of the character and style of teaching in the primitive Church. The translation, and some of the notes, are by the editor of *Journal of Sacred Literature*; but the introduction, etc., are by another gentleman. The pamphlet is uniform with the Tract Society's popular version of Tischendorf's *When were our Gospels Written?* and particular prominence is given to texts of Scripture quoted, referred to, or illustrated by Clement, who appears to have known most of the New Testament books, but not the Gospel of St. John.

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*China : the Country, History, and People.* London : Religious Tract Society.

ALTHOUGH neither a theological nor a critical work, we have been much interested in this account of China, which has evidently been compiled with equal care and honesty from the best sources. It will be useful as an addition to any ordinary library, but we especially recommend it for the family, the school, the college, or the parochial library, in all of which it is sure to be popular.

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*The Apologetics of the Christian Faith.* By the late W. M. HETHERINGTON, D.D., LL.D. With Introductory Notice, by A. DUFF, D.D., LL.D. Edinburgh : T. and T. Clark.

THE name and worth of Dr. Hetherington will be at once recognized by many south of the Tweed; and most of our readers will remember

hearing of his death some two years since. A most diligent student himself, he was intensely anxious to communicate his knowledge, and to commend his principles to others. He was consequently well known beyond the pale of the college in which he was professor and of the Free Church, of which he was an able minister and a conspicuous ornament. The volume which now appears under his name, although posthumous, was carefully prepared, in that it constitutes a series of lectures delivered before his students. We have gone over it with considerable satisfaction, and this will no doubt be the experience of others; for even those who do not occupy the author's theological stand-point will recognize the literary and intellectual merits of the work. The plan is as follows: In a first division, headed "Natural Theology," we have an appropriate introductory chapter, a statement of the nature and method of argument relative to natural theology, the arguments *à priori* and *à posteriori*, and that formed by a combination of the two, with general conclusions to which natural theology leads—its extent and limits. The second division is on external and internal evidences, commencing with the former. The introduction here treats of a revelation as probable and necessary. The author then proceeds to direct and positive evidence of a revelation, miracles, and prophecy. Under the head of internal evidences Christianity is regarded as *the* truth, in view of its adaptation, and moral and social results. The third division is occupied with the integrity and authority of Scripture, including the canon, inspiration, and authority. An appendix is set apart for the consideration of (1) instinct, reason, and faith; (2) scepticism, rationalism, and humanism; (3) Pantheism, materialistic and idealistic.

Dr. Hetherington believes the *à priori* argument as of real value when regarded as the solution of a problem already believed; and we are disposed to agree with him. We say this without thinking that any logical process is likely to convince an atheist; but because we think that one who already admits a God may find strength and comfort in this *à priori* argument. Much the same may be said of the *à posteriori* argument, which, as being more tangible, is more popular, and at the same time more rudely assailed. The argument arising from the combination of the two former is discussed at much greater length, and is one of the most elaborate portions of the book. The sum of the whole is that man can, without a supernatural revelation, arrive at a conviction, not only that God is, but that He is a moral Person, the Creator and Governor of the universe. Other conclusions can also be reached with more or less of certainty, and thus the reli-

gious ideas and tendencies of man are at least justified by reason. With reference to miracles, we never could understand their denial by any person believing in a God who created and controls the universe. We allude to the denial of their possibility; and if this be admitted, their probability and actual occurrence can be argued for on something like substantial grounds. If the possibility of physical miracles is conceded, that of moral and intellectual ones can scarcely be denied. This will involve the possibility of inspiration, prophecy, and other phenomena which are ascribed to special divine interference. Whether what we call instances of prophecy, miracle, inspiration, etc., are really such, is a question of fact to be dealt with in accordance with the laws of evidence. Dr. Hetherington's discussion of these subjects is lucid and logical, and well fitted to convince as well as to teach. The chapter on the canon is one of the least exhaustive in the book. That on inspiration is much more copious, and advocates what we may call conservative opinions. Taken as a whole, the work is one of the most comprehensive and suggestive we have seen for a long time; and, as a manual of Christian apologetics, deserves a place in every clergyman's library. Its tone and temper are excellent.

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*The Theory of Ruling Eldership; or, the Position of the Lay Ruler in the Reformed Churches Examined.* By P. C. CAMPBELL, D.D.  
Edinburgh: Blackwood and Sons.

PRINCIPAL CAMPBELL labours both learnedly and ingeniously to prove that while laymen should have a share in the administration of the Church, those who are known in Presbyterian polity as "lay elders" or "ruling elders," are not elders or presbyters in any proper sense.

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*Pomponia: or, The Gospel in Cæsar's Household.* By Mrs. WEBB.  
London: Religious Tract Society.

A VIVID and life-like story, written in a pleasing style by Mrs. Webb, who has already obtained a reputation for her power of reproducing scenes from ancient Jewish and Christian life.

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*An Attempt to ascertain the Character of the Fourth Gospel; especially in its relation to the three first.* By J. J. TAYLER, M.A. London: Williams and Norgate.

WE have nothing to say against the tone and temper of the preface to this work; on the contrary, we like its frank and earnest style, and we

agree with most of its utterances. But we think that in his very first section, where he states the question raised, the author exaggerates in his endeavour to exhibit St. John's Gospel in the most absolute contrast to the others. Not merely does he view it as different in form, but as setting forth a different Christ, and so, as being in effect a different Gospel. In sundry respects he thinks it "stands out in decided contrast and contradiction to the three first." A contrast we admit, but not a contradiction. He accepts the three, but supposes that if we accept the fourth, we allow it to supersede them. In the second section he seeks to show that the Apocalypse and the fourth Gospel are not by the same author. He next examines the "Notices of the apostle John in the New Testament, and the oldest ecclesiastical traditions." He admits that John taught and died at Ephesus, but gathers from the facts he collects that while John could have written the Apocalypse, it is incredible that he wrote the Gospel. He cites several early authorities for the Johannean origin of the Apocalypse, and gives an account of the suspicions which afterwards arose. He then refers to the witnesses to the apostolic origin of the fourth Gospel; and after a rather full enumeration concludes that Theophilus of Antioch, A.D. 178, is the first who can be adduced with any certainty. We utterly demur to this conclusion, because it is contrary to the evidence. Even if it were correct that John is not *named* earlier as the author, it would be preposterous to imagine that the book had not long been accepted as his. That it had long before been accepted and used by orthodox and heretics in the East and in the West, has been demonstrated. Justin *must* have possessed it, and held it to be apostolical; while Heracleon wrote a commentary upon it quite as early. It is true, as Mr. Tayler says, that Justin does not mention the name of John as author of the Gospel; but does he so mention Matthew, Mark, or Luke? John, as the writer of the Apocalypse, is, we believe, the only one of the New Testament penmen whom Justin names. As for Hippolytus, if he does not invoke John's name in the *Philosophoumena*, he does in other writings which appear to be genuine, that against Noetus for example. And even in the *Philosophoumena*, Hippolytus quotes the fourth Gospel as "the Gospel." With regard to Athenagoras, whose silence is also appealed to, it is to be noticed that he scarcely quotes Scripture at all; but it is tolerably clear that he used St. John's Gospel. The fact is, that the oldest Christian writers seldom repeat the names of those who penned any of the New Testament books, and we learn their possession of them from the traces of their influence.

Mr. Tayler proceeds to consider the internal indications of a later

age in the fourth Gospel, but he thinks the Paschal controversy still more conclusive, because he says John's recorded practice in observing the Passover disagrees with the indications of the Gospel. The details of the argument, based upon the Paschal controversy, are too intricate to be repeated in a mere book notice, but they are not all unfamiliar to the readers of Strauss and his opponents. The only remark we shall make on that controversy is on its value as a demonstration, that when it arose St. John's Gospel must have been long established in the faith of the Western Churches, whose observance of Easter is conformed to its apparent indications. If St. John's Gospel originated at Ephesus, in the middle of the second century, how is it that its alleged teaching concerning the matter then in dispute corresponds with the practice of the West, and not with that traditionally followed at Ephesus as that of St. John? We ask this on the assumption that the fourth Gospel does not agree with the others, though we believe it does not contradict them.

We pass over the remaining topics of Mr. Tayler's volume, which, after all, contains very little that is new, either in argument or in hypothesis. We could have wished to examine it more minutely, but it has been pretty well answered already by anticipation in the American *Bibliotheca Sacra* for July and October, 1866, especially the latter: *On the Origin of the Gospels*, by Rev. J. I. Mombert, D.D. To both Dr. Mombert's articles on the subject we earnestly invite attention.

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*The Second Death, and the Restitution of all Things: with some Preliminary Remarks on the Nature and Inspiration of Holy Scripture.*

A Letter to a Friend. By M.A. London: Longmans, Green, and Co.

THE reasonings of this book are designed to favour the opinion that all God's rational creatures will be ultimately blessed; but we are afraid the writer is too mystical, not to say fanciful. The chief importance of the publication is that it supplies another proof of the strength and breadth of the current of opinion which has set in against the eternity of future punishment.

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*Church Embroidery, Ancient and Modern, Practically Illustrated.* By ANASTASIA DOLBY, late Embroideress to the Queen. London: Chapman and Hall.

THE practice of ornamenting textile fabrics with designs in needlework is exceedingly ancient, and is of very varied application and significance. In the princely hall, in the warlike encounter, in the peaceful

mart, at the social board, and, above all, in the solemn rites of religion, the work of the embroiderer was proudly displayed. The fine cotton and woollen fabrics which proceeded from the Egyptian looms were often worked with patterns in brilliant colours by means of the needle. Mr. Layard reminds us that the Assyrians were famed for their magnificent embroidery, and that their merchants traded with Tyre in "blue clothes and embroidered work." The Phœnicians were probably more famed for their dyes than for their needlework. Virgil describes one of his heroes thus :—

"Pictus acu chlamydem, et ferrugine clarus Ibera ;"

and of another he says :—

"—— Tum croceam chlamydemque sinusque crepantes

Carbaseos fulvo in nodum collegerat auro,

Pictus acu tunicas et barbara tegmina crurum."

Probably, from their love of embroidery, the Phrygians were supposed to have been its inventors. But who invented it we know not. We know, however, that the Israelites availed themselves of the art in preparing the priestly robes and decorations in the wilderness, and it is frequently referred to in subsequent ages of Jewish history. We find it everywhere in ancient times, and so we do now. It cannot be matter of surprise that it found an introduction to the Church almost, if not quite, as soon as distinctive ornaments were adopted by the clergy, and for their temples. Upon this latter branch of inquiry Mrs. Dolby supplies us with a number of curious illustrations in her elegant and carefully edited volume. The Church of Rome has always looked with favour upon this branch of art ; and we need not add that with many members of the English Church it has become quite popular. To such as wish to be initiated in the mysteries of church embroidery, Mrs. Dolby's book will be very acceptable. Without ourselves expressing any opinion as to the desirableness of adopting extensively such accessories to public worship, we may yet say how much we have been pleased with the execution of the work before us. It is well written, it contains full and exact explanations of various branches of the art, it is beautifully printed, and it is admirably illustrated.

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*A Supplement to the Old Testament Scriptures ; or, an Endeavour towards the recovery of the Book of John.* By ALEX. VANCE.

Printed for private circulation.

MR. VANCE has not been well advised, or he would never have printed this book. From beginning to end it is most erratic, and its many



theories are not its only fault. The theories are often contrary to fact, as well as unsupported by fact; the style is not coherent, and a few Greek quotations are so erroneously printed as to be unintelligible. Mr. Vance thinks the Jews of Europe are descended from the Babylonians; that Jerusalem in the Old Testament means Babylon, where Solomon reigned; that John lived two centuries before Jesus; that much of the Gospels relates to this John, and that part of them relate to Jesus, and part are untrue; that Constantinople is the New Jerusalem, and the Babylon of John the city on the seven hills; that the 48th Psalm was written after Constantinople was founded, and, that the New Testament may have been written either at the eastern or the western Babylon. Most of the volume is occupied with pieces of literary mosaic, compiled from the Gospels, and the author's fancies.

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*Jesus: All and in All.* By C. R. HOWELL. With Preface. By Rev. S. MARTIN. Second edition. London: The Book Society.

THIS small work is strictly evangelical, and designed to exhibit the grace of Christ in the most simple, direct, and practical manner. Its general contents are: Part 1. The way of salvation—by Jesus; Part 2. Examples of salvation—by Jesus; Part 3. The Blessings of salvation—by Jesus; Part 4. The fruits and duties of salvation—by Jesus; Part 5. Four last words—concerning salvation by Jesus. We cannot do better than repeat Mr. Martin's words:—"Simple, clear, and forcible in style, evangelical and catholic in spirit, rich in Christian truth, and true in its aim at usefulness, we trust that the book will be widely circulated, and that it will be read with much profit."

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*The Wisdom of our Fathers.* Selections from the writings of ROBERT SOUTH, D.D. With a Memoir. London: Religious Tract Society.

FEW people now-a-days will read much of South, whose reputation as a preacher has survived his popularity as a writer. But there are so many good things scattered through his sermons that it is desirable they should be perpetuated, and we are therefore glad to see this judicious and candid selection. The editor very happily remarks that "South's faults and his excellencies lie upon the surface," by which, however, he would not call him superficial, if he would deny him to be profound. South's style is very pure and vigorous; and when party questions are in abeyance, his thoughts and sentiments are often worthy of all commendation.

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*Six short Sermons on Sin.* Lent Lectures at S. Alban the Martyr, Holborn. By the Rev. ORBY SHIPLEY, M.A. London: Rivingtons.

THE subjects of these sermons are as follows : The nature of sin, as to its personality ; The effect of sin, in its guilt ; The remedy for sin, through the sacraments ; The knowledge of sin, by self-examination ; The removal of sin, by sacramental confession ; Holiness after sin, in the renewed life. There is also a brief appendix "On the Sacrament of Unction." Mr. Shipley is a zealous advocate of sacramental efficacy, and the principles of the sacramental system are very clearly set forth in this little book.

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*Broadchalke Sermon-Essays on Nature, Mediation, Atonement, Absolution, etc.* By ROWLAND WILLIAMS, D.D. London: Williams and Norgate.

THERE is very much that is both true and beautiful in this book, and those who, like ourselves, cannot always accept its criticism and theology, may profit by the perusal of it. When we say it should be read with discrimination, we only say what is true of other books in a greater or less degree. The subjects are : The Testimony of Nature ; The Mosaic Law ; David and Absalom ; Pure Religion ; What is Man ? The Authority of Christ's Teaching ; The Blood of Jezreel ; The Holy Spirit ; The Atonement ; The Mediatorship of the Law, and of the Gospel ; The Holy Trinity ; The Song of the Ark, and the Psalms of War ; Providence and Prayer ; Transfiguration and Conversion : Absolution ; The Great Gulf ; The Prophetic Christ. The tone of the volume is not very bright and cheerful, but it is earnest and thoughtful.

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*The Imprecatory Psalms.* Six Lectures, with other Discourses. By Rev. R. A. BERTRAM. London: E. Stock.

THERE are things in the Bible which perplex the Christian, but are scornfully rejected by the unbeliever. Such are the "imprecatory" Psalms, upon which Mr. Bertram has had the good sense and decision to lecture before an audience of plain people. He is right ; for timid and wavering policy is seldom best. He first deals with certain current representations of these Psalms ; he then replies to objections ; next he expounds the law of love ; after which he considers various facts concerning the Psalms and Psalmists, and the imprecations of the New Testament. His last lecture is headed "Summary and Conclusion." The lectures are followed by six plain and practical discourses.

With regard to the lectures, they take a common-sense view of the subject, and there is in them no attempt at critical hair-splitting or sophistication. They do not amount to a commentary upon the imprecatory Psalms, but are designed to shew that there is in them nothing vindictive, or otherwise objectionable on moral or religious grounds. Mr. Bertram would not recommend Christians to compose prayers and hymns on the same model, but he does very much to account for *these*, and to justify them. Some of his suggestions are particularly happy, and the whole book deserves to be put into the hands of persons whose ignorance or prejudice tempts them either to doubt or to deride.

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*Simple Sermons.* By W. H. RANKEN, M.A. London: Rivingtons.

THESE sermons are what they profess to be; the style of address is plain and direct, the language natural and intelligible, and the doctrine orthodox. The author's position in relation to existing parties in the Church may be inferred from a single sentence: "To eat the flesh of Christ is to have communicated to us the eternal life which dwells in His spiritual body, His glorified flesh; to drink the blood of Christ is to have communicated to us the redemption through His blood, the forgiveness of all our sins."

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*A System of Biblical Psychology.* By F. DELITZSCH, D.D. Translated by Rev. R. E. WALLIS, Ph. D. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark.

THE name of Dr. Delitzsch is a complete guarantee for the thoroughly scholarlike character of this work, the second edition of which has been used by the translator. It is quite impracticable in a brief notice to convey an adequate idea of the plan laid down and the treatment adopted. The subject is one of vast extent, and yet of equal importance; for from false conceptions arising out of it, come very many serious theological errors and misunderstandings of Scripture. Readers who are not afraid to think as well as to read will find Dr. Delitzsch's book overflowing with profound suggestions. At the same time, there are few among us who will accept all his expositions, whether of the Scripture text or of philosophical problems. For ourselves, this is decidedly the case, and yet we wish to speak in terms of strong commendation of a volume, which, without satisfying us on all points, clears up many, and indicates the path to a right conclusion on many more. The language of the translation is as perspicuous as the subject allows; and an index of texts, and another of subjects, which are added, will be useful to those who would make references to the volume.

*An Exposition of the Epistle of James, in a Series of Discourses.* By Rev. JOHN ADAM, Free South Church, Aberdeen. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark.

THIS volume contains thirty-one expository discourses, and an Appendix, treating of the questions usually considered under the head of prolegomena. It forms an admirable practical and explanatory commentary upon an important portion of Holy Writ. We have read a number of passages, and examined it on many of the more interesting points, and we can bear witness to its character as careful, judicious, and faithful. The author appears to have rarely missed the precise shade of meaning, which shows that he has critically examined the original; and he has expressed his thoughts in an earnest, forcible, and religious manner. For mere scholars and critics it will not perhaps be sufficiently technical; but it is written for a much larger class, and will be most acceptable to intelligent laymen, and to clergymen who want something to aid them directly in preaching. It develops the truths of the Epistle, and brings into prominence the lessons which they suggest, applying them to the heart and conscience. The book is what is called orthodox and evangelical, and aims less at speculation than at the personal profit of the readers. We therefore recommend it as calculated to be in the highest sense a useful work.

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*The Doctrine of Justification: An Outline of its History in the Church, and of its Exposition from Scripture. With special reference to recent attacks on the Theology of the Reformation.* By JAMES BUCHANAN, D.D., LL.D., Divinity Professor, New College, Edinburgh. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark.

THIS is the second series of the lectures founded in memory of the late Principal Cunningham. There are seven lectures on the history of the doctrine of Justification, and eight on its exposition. In the former the doctrine is traced down from the Old Testament and the Apostolic age, over succeeding periods to modern times; in the latter the doctrine is considered in a variety of its important aspects and relations. Following the lectures is an appendix of notes, occupying about a hundred pages. These notes supply a mass of quotations and references to ancient and recent authorities, shewing that Dr. Buchanan has most extensively explored the literature of his subject. We call special attention to this appendix, because it proves that there are still among us men who not merely write upon a subject, but who do not shirk the toil of reading what others have left on record. To our

mind this is one of the most interesting and valuable portions of the volume. We are all aware that in various quarters men, who differ very much from one another, have agreed to assail or to explain away several of the old articles of the Protestant faith. This is done by Ritualists as well as by Rationalists; and with so much confidence and boasted success, that it is really incumbent upon those who adhere to long current orthodoxy both to explain and to vindicate their conservatism. The great theological champions of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are either ignored or contemned, unless they happen to favour opinions which were very unpopular among Protestant divines. Under such circumstances, and without saying that the Reformation theology needed no revision, we are glad to see earnest and powerful men like Dr. Buchanan coming forward manfully to defend and clearly to expound the ancient faith, as viewed by its modern professors. We might not commit ourselves to all his opinions, but we still believe that the Scriptural doctrine of justification is of supreme importance, that it has been disguised and frittered away by multitudes, and that Dr. Buchanan deserves the best thanks of all who cling to the old theology. The theme is a noble one, and its treatment is exhaustive; so much so that we think it would be impossible to refute its leading positions by any logical deductions from the Word of God. Among the propositions which Dr. Buchanan successively lays down and develops, there are some unquestionably which will grate harshly on certain ears—*e. g.*, "Justification, although inseparably connected with, is yet essentially different from, sanctification; and the former is not founded on the latter as its procuring or meritorious cause." "It was God's eternal purpose to overrule the fall of man for his own glory, by a signal manifestation of all His moral perfections, in justifying the ungodly through Christ as Mediator." In some cases, while we ourselves should not object to the doctrine laid down, we should not express it in the same terms. Truth is one, and changes not; but language changes, and therefore it may be necessary, and we think is necessary, for divines to rectify their vocabulary from time to time. In the present day this seems to be the case, because the old scholastic and technical terminology does not always convey to the popular mind the same idea or shades of thought as it did two or three centuries back.

We hope this very ably written work will stimulate many to examine afresh the great doctrine of justification, and to see what it really was as understood by the older divines, and also to consider the best method of explaining and teaching it to the men of our generation.

*Origin and History of the Books of the New Testament, both the Canonical and the Apocryphal.* Designed to shew what the Bible is not, what it is, and how to use it. By Professor C. E. Stowe. London: S. Low, Son and Marston.

THERE is just now much need of a popular and comprehensive account of the books of the New Testament, and of such books as ancient credulity and modern contrivance have wished to place upon a level with them. Lardner, with all his defects, is useful as a book of reference; and Westcott ought to be in the hands of every student. Other works, from Cosin to Gaussen have their merits, but no one that we know in English meets the wants of general readers at the present day. Under these circumstances, we eagerly perused the volume of Professor Stowe, and our impression is that it comes nearer than any other to supply our deficiency. The author has been many years occupied in studying the subjects of which he here discourses, and portions of his materials have appeared in America, and been reprinted in this journal. He is therefore no novice at such work, and he is acquainted with German literature as well as with that of England and America. He has investigated the ancient authorities, and he has carefully examined the documents of which he writes. These, and other qualifications, cannot be predicated of every writer on the subject, and seem to point him out as one who is singularly adapted to exhibit the whole question in a clear and intelligible form. He truly says: "The style of my book is plain, simple, and colloquial, as the purpose in writing it required. I hope it is neither barbarous nor ungrammatical; for though I make no claims to elegance, I have endeavoured to be correct, concise, and intelligible."

The work comprises fourteen chapters, and the course pursued in them may be briefly indicated. In view of the common popular objections to the Bible, it is desirable to shew what the Bible is and is not, and how to use it. We must also look at the kind of evidence on which we receive the books of the New Testament. There are the ancient MSS., the chief of which are described. Then there are early Christian and other writers, notices of one hundred of whom are given. The testimony for the historical books of the New Testament is next considered, and followed by a separate examination for each of the four Gospels. After this comes an account of the Apocryphal Gospels and fragments of supposed lost Gospels. Modern sceptical and rationalistic biographies of Jesus are next submitted to criticism. The ninth chapter treats of the genuine and the Apocryphal Acts. The tenth chapter is devoted to the Pauline epistles, and the eleventh to the Catholic and

the Apocryphal epistles. The subject of the twelfth chapter is the Revelation of St. John and Apocryphal revelations. In the next chapter the Bible prophets and the classical oracles are contrasted; and in the last chapter we have a notice of the Apocrypha of the Old Testament, and the reasons for their exclusion from the Canon. In a second volume the author intends to deal with the Old Testament, and such questions as inspiration, miracles, laws of interpretation, etc.

Speaking generally, this book contains a great mass of seasonable information and suggestive argument. The accounts of the numerous authors and works reviewed are mostly correct and comprehensive, and very readable. The criticisms are decided, and in the main appropriate. Every way, the volume represents a noble idea well carried out. It is certainly an excellent notion to select and exhibit in plain English the testimonies of early writers to the separate books of the New Testament; for although Lardner did this, his work is cumbrous, and his pages are loaded with extraneous matter; we are, therefore, much indebted to Professor Stowe for giving us the pith of the evidence in a compendious and manageable form. He has not given us all the evidence, and in particular we think he might have shewn much more clearly the parallel between passages of Justin Martyr and others in St. John's Gospel. In saying this we only say what applies to all other writers on the subject so far as we know them; for none of them have treated the parallel alleged so fully as it deserves. We think, too, that Professor Stowe has not used all the more recently discovered testimonies. But still, this portion of his work is good and useful, and executed in a scholarly manner, like all the rest of it.

His method in relation to the Christian Apocrypha is very commendable, and we hope the eyes of many will be opened by his remarkably copious analysis and accounts of those books. Nevertheless, even here, we fancy he has been a little too modest sometimes, and has given to a few of the books a higher place in the early Church than we think they had. It was surely undesirable to place what we call the Apostolic Fathers among the Apocryphal Epistles; for although Hone did this to make his Apocryphal New Testament conform in appearance to our own, it was a most uncritical procedure. We know what may be said of Barnabas, Clement, and Hermas; but, for all that, it is high time that educated men left off calling these Apocryphal. To call them Apostolic Fathers may be wrong, but it is to be wished that Hone's fiction, by which they are put into the ranks of Christian Apocrypha, were not repeated. It is curious that there should be so strong a tendency to regard certain books as having been once in the

Canon; but a little reflection will serve to correct the error. The honour conferred upon Clement, Barnabas, and Hermas, by one or two ancient writers or churches, is no evidence that they were ever accounted canonical in any proper sense. They were never incorporated with the books of the New Testament even when they were appended to the MSS.; certainly it is no proof of canonicity that we find them attached to such MSS., because the Clementine constitutions, the Epistles on virginity, etc., are found in similar positions. That they were sometimes read in churches equally fails to shew that they were canonical, because books confessedly uninspired, were sometimes (as now) read for popular edification.

There are some other matters on which we should join issue with Professor Stowe, but where there is so much that we heartily approve of, we do not feel disposed to multiply minute objections on points which are not always clear. Indeed, our chief object in making the remarks we have just made, has been to suggest the extreme importance of the most guarded language when speaking of the place assigned to the oldest uninspired Christian writings. To conclude, then, without bestowing indiscriminate praise upon a book which has given us so great pleasure, we sincerely recommend it to all who desire a compendious statement of facts and arguments on some of the most anxiously debated problems of the day.

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*History of Rationalism: embracing a Survey of the present State of Protestant Theology.* With an Appendix of Literature. By J. F. HURST, D.D. London: Trübner and Co.

THIS is a good and useful book, reprinted from the third American edition, and, as we understand it, revised and enlarged. The introduction supplies us with a general account of Rationalism as a phase of unbelief. We have not space to give a full analysis of the contents, but we will try to convey some notion of the outline which has been filled up. As a history, it commences with a chapter on the controversial period succeeding the Reformation, and it goes on in the following order: The religious condition of the Protestant Church at the peace of Westphalia; Pietism and its mission; revival of philosophical speculation in the seventeenth century; Descartes and Spinoza, and their influence on theology; the popular philosophy of Wolff, and sceptical tendencies from abroad; Semler and the destructive school—1750—1810; contributions of literature and philosophy; the reign of the Weimar circle—revolution in education and hymnology; doctrines



of Rationalism in the day of its strength ; renovation inaugurated by Schleiermacher ; relations of Rationalism and supernaturalism—1810-1835 ; reaction produced by Strauss's *Life of Jesus*—1835-1848 ; the evangelical school, its opinions and present prospects ; practical movements indicating new life ; Holland, from the Synod of Dort to the present time ; France in the 19th century ; Switzerland ; England in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries ; the United States during the same period ; indirect service of scepticism, and actual prospects. The whole concludes with a copious list of publications connected with various controversies and schools.

It will be seen that Dr. Hurst takes a wider range than Hagenbach in his work *On the Rise, Progress, and Decline of German Rationalism*, as the English abridgment is called ; at the same time the two books have much in common. The tendencies of Dr. Hurst are orthodox enough, and yet his notices of the principal Rationalists are, as a whole, fair and just. He has exhibited in a manageable form a mass of very useful matter, and much of the information he supplies is absolutely necessary for those who wish to have an intelligent view of the theories and discussions of the present. There is no doubt they will find themselves mistaken who come to it expecting the style, method, and sentiments of Lecky, whose Rationalism is really not the Rationalism of Dr. Hurst. But inasmuch as Dr. Hurst sufficiently explains what his idea of Rationalism is, and follows the precedent of others, nobody must complain that he has not, like Mr. Lecky, used the term rather in view of its etymology than of custom. There are very few among us who may not learn something from this work ; and even if we do not in every case endorse the accomplished author's conclusions, we are ready to acknowledge the general accuracy of his facts, so far as we can judge of them. Looked at as a chronicle of the changes of theological currents, and of the conflicts of theologians, it is deeply interesting and instructive. Perhaps the strife of these opposing tendencies is necessary to preserve the equilibrium ; but whether or no, it is quite apparent that excesses in one direction are almost invariably avenged by a reaction in favour of the opposite extreme.

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*Biblical Commentary on the Prophecies of Isaiah.* By F. DELITZSCH, D.D. Translated by Rev. J. MARTIN, B.A. Vol. I. Edinburgh : T. and T. Clark.

THIS volume of Clark's *Foreign Theological Library* will be acceptable to a wide circle of readers. The author is confessedly one of the most

industrious and accomplished writers of whom Germany can boast, and whatever exception may be taken to some of his opinions, his ability is as undoubted as his sincere faith. The work opens with an introduction to the prophetic books of the Old Testament, which will be found useful by those who either have not larger books, or not time to read them. This is followed by a special introduction to Isaiah, and a critical exposition of twenty-seven chapters. We have examined several passages, and can attest the thoroughness with which Dr. Delitzsch goes into difficult questions of criticism.

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*The Resurrection of Jesus Christ ; with an Examination of the Speculations of Strauss in his " New Life of Jesus," and an Introductory View of the present Position of Theological Inquiry in reference to the Existence of God, and the miraculous Evidence of Christianity.*  
By the late R. MACPHERSON, D.D. London : W. Blackwood and Sons.

THIS important volume is edited by the author's son, who states that the first ten lectures in it were delivered to the students of divinity in the University of Aberdeen, but that the other five, on the speculations of Strauss, were prepared with a view to publication. From an interesting memoir by Principal Campbell, we learn that Dr. Macpherson was born in 1806, and died in January last. We see in this work another evidence of the intense hold which modern speculations have taken upon the minds of thoughtful men in all churches, and of the powerful opposition which has been awakened. If Atheistic speculations have been boldly pursued and published, and loudly applauded on the one hand, on the other they have been submitted to earnest and searching investigation, and, as we believe, triumphantly refuted. In three lectures on Atheistic hypotheses, Dr. Macpherson grapples with most of their leading arguments, and does far more than suggest their utter untenableness. The two lectures on miracles are skilfully designed, and ably wrought out. The remaining ten lectures, on the resurrection of Jesus, and matters connected with it, constitute an elaborate vindication of the New Testament teachings, and demolish the airy fabric raised by Strauss and his congeners. Strauss has been often " riddled and sifted," but seldom in a more deliberate and successful manner. It is unfortunate that so few sceptics will read books against scepticism ; but it is to be hoped that many others will read this work, to arm themselves against the insidious attacks of a subtle foe, and to qualify themselves for a more efficient exposition and defence of the

truth. The narratives of the Evangelists are known to be fragmentary, and when we attempt to construct from the four one harmonious story of the resurrection we find ourselves in the presence of serious difficulties. This has been the experience of all ages. Christians have for the most part been satisfied when they have remembered that we are not in possession of all the incidents; but sceptics have set aside the points on which the Evangelists agree, and, because on some they seem to differ, have rejected them altogether. Not that the Evangelists would have been believed if their agreement had been absolute; for it is a dictum with some that no evidence can prove a miracle, and with others that miracles are impossible. In opposition to them all, Dr. Macpherson has ably proved that ours is a most reasonable faith.

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*The Basilica, and the Basilican Church of Brixworth.* By Rev. C. F. WATKINS. London: Rivingtons.

MR. WATKINS has been a good many years vicar of Brixworth, the curious old church of which place he has had restored in accordance with his theory of its original structure. The Church has been long noticed by antiquarians, and nobody could see it without observing its singular differences from ordinary churches. As a church it has stood on its site some 1200 years at least, and seems to have succeeded buildings of Roman origin. The ground plan is a parallelogram, with a polygonal eastern apse; and the building contains examples of very ancient work. Mr. Watkins has compiled an interesting little miscellany, if we may so term it, and one which will please others besides Northamptonshire archæologists.

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*Idolatries, Old and New: their Cause and Cure.* By J. B. BROWN, B.A. London: Jackson, Walford and Hodder.

A VERY nicely got-up book, on a seasonable topic, and full of wise thought. There are eight sermons, the first four being on the essential principle of idolatry, the idolatry of the priest, that of the sacrament, and that of the Word. The second four are on the living way, the spiritual freedom of Judaism, God's ordained ministers, and ritualism in its present aspects and aims. Some persons do not like for Nonconformist ministers to touch on some of these subjects; but it is a mistake; for all are interested in them, and in presence of the rapid developments and transformations going on among us, he must be senseless who is not moved to think and inquire. If the national Church of our day succeeds in abandoning the characteristics of the last

300 years, it will practically confess itself to have passed 300 years in Apostacy. If the opinions and practices which began to disappear 350 years ago are now brought, like the sleepers of Ephesus, out of their forgotten cells, the reformation and our ecclesiastical history ever since will be an acknowledged blunder. 350 years is a long stage in a nation's life; and have we and all our fathers been wrong all that time? Englishmen will see; and Englishmen will see what foundation underlay the doctrine and ceremonial of the middle ages; and they will see whether the Church has a right to build on any foundation not clearly indicated by the Scriptures. Mr. Brown is no revolutionist, but an earnest Christian thinker, well-read, and worthy to be heard. This book, at any rate, deserves our serious consideration.

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*An Examination of some of the Moral Difficulties of the Old Testament.*

In Five Sermons. By J. H. JELLETT, B.D. Dublin: Hodges, Smith and Co.

THESE sermons deal with matters which are constantly cropping out: Jael, the Sacrifice of Isaac, and the Destruction of the Canaanites are the subjects, and they are representative examples of a class. The author discusses his topics with admirable candour and fairness, and we are thankful when we find one so well qualified, seeking to relieve men's minds of their perplexities. It may be urged that he sometimes speaks with too much reserve, but no wise and modest man will shrink from such an allegation. We like the book exceedingly as a whole, and strongly recommend its perusal to all who feel anxious in consequence of such difficulties as are considered in it.

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*Memorials of the Clayton Family. With Unpublished Correspondence of the Countess of Huntingdon, Lady Glenorchy, John Newton, Toplady, etc.* By Rev. T. W. AVELING.

THE Claytons have long occupied a foremost place among the Nonconforming ministers of England, and it will be seen by Mr. Aveling's interesting volume, that they have been associated with the leaders of the Evangelical movement in the national Church. A host of personages come before us, and a crowd of incidents connected with the religious life of the country for a century past; and those who wish to have many pleasant and instructive reminiscences, many records of godly labour and zeal, and many encouragements to holy enterprise, will do well to read this work. The history of the movement, of which Lady Huntingdon was a centre, receives a large accession of light, and the same remark applies to the history of modern nonconformity,

missionary enterprise, etc. The Claytons occupied a good worldly position, had wealth, honour, and influence, and were doubtless more worthy of these things than some have been. They were Christian gentlemen, popular and successful preachers, active promoters of useful schemes, but they were not eminent as scholars, philosophers, writers, and so forth. They represent the respectability, intelligence, and piety of dissent, but not its sterner and more positive features. Mr Aveling deserves all commendation for his industry and perspicuity, and we dare say he will see his book range with the memoirs of other Nonconformist celebrities. We have found it very agreeable and profitable reading.

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*Lectures on the Book of Revelation.* By JOHN BROWN, B.A. London : Pitman.

As Mr. Brown says, the Apocalypse has furnished occasion for the display of many wild vagaries ; so many, we would add, that we never take up a book upon the subject without fear and trembling. The scheme adopted by the author was first fully set forth in this country, we understand, in the *Biblical Review* for 1846-7, by Professor Godwin, who treated the book as a symbolical exhibition of great truths, rather than as a chronological prophecy. Mr. Brown pleads for the Neronian date of the Apocalypse, and we think he is on the side of probability. His lectures are well conceived and written, and prove that the book may furnish a basis for practical instruction of the best kind.

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*Lectures ; introductory to the Study of the Gospels.* By WILLIAM KELLY. London : W. H. Broom.

MR. KELLY publishes a good deal, and his views on some points are rather singular, but his writings embody much good sense, Christian sentiment, and critical observation. The book now in our hands contains eleven discourses which were taken down in short-hand, and afterwards revised by the author. Although said to be "introductory" to the study of the Gospels, they are rather adapted for those who are well acquainted with the Gospels, and who wish to have a clearer insight into them, a better understanding of their peculiarities, and a clue to their difficulties. Most readers have had their curiosity awakened by many things in the Gospels which have been variously regarded as obscurities, discrepancies, or specialities of arrangement. The greater portion of these will be found commented upon by Mr. Kelly, who calls his book a "rapid sketch of the four accounts of our blessed Lord," though it is more than this. His style is free and

flowing, and not critical, logical, or scholastic; at the same time it is manifestly the fruit of much previous study of the text with all the appliances of criticism. The atmosphere of the book is religious, and this, combined with personal addresses, gives it somewhat the aspect of sermons. Such as read it for edification, and in the spirit which prompted it, will doubtless regard its religiousness and a slight tinge of mysticism, as a real recommendation, although such as have no sympathy with such things will think the matter might have been contained in a smaller book. For our part, we believe that the combination of powerful Christian sentiment, with intellectual clearness, is a valuable feature of the work, and we are sure that educated readers, who know what vital godliness is, will hardly find one on the subject more to their taste.

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*The Book of Common Prayer and Administration of Baptism and the Lord's Supper; with other Services.* Prepared for use in the Evangelical Churches by Ministers and Members of the Established and Nonconformist Churches.

*Introduction to the Book of Common Prayer, etc.* By one of the Ministers engaged in the preparation of the foregoing. London: W. J. Johnson.

THE first of these is a modification of the Common Prayer Book, with the prose Psalms annexed. It has a calendar and table of lessons prefixed, from which are excluded Apocryphal books and Apocryphal saints, and retaining only a minimum of the old calendars, or their more ancient elements. From the services everything is removed that can be construed into favouring the ritual and sacramental system, and a consistent effort is made to reduce all to the simplicity of the New Testament and the age nearest the Apostles. The book is as much a sign of the times as the *Directorium Anglicanum*, and if it is not reduced to practice to the same extent, it represents a spirit that is abroad, and may some day use its power.

The "Introduction" supplies a quantity of information which will be eagerly received by multitudes who have hitherto only had the hyper-ecclesiastical version of the facts. We think that both this book and the other ought to be read by the Ritualists as well as by the Evangelicals; it will at least show how immense is the distance between them, and it will be serviceable to both in view of the hotter and closer fight which is impending. For ourselves we shall be glad when the conflict is over, because we would rather have peace than war; and yet TRUTH must not be set aside for peace.

*Synonyms and Antonyms.* Collected and contrasted by the Ven. C. J. SMITH, M.A. London: Bell and Daldy.

UNDER the head of *Synonyms and Antonyms*, Archdeacon Smith arranges words which form an antithesis to one another. The word "antonym" is, we believe, a new formation, but useful. Thus, the synonym of "glorify" is "exalt;" but its antonym is "depress." As a matter of fact, "Antonyms" cannot be found for many words; and this is probably why we do not find in this collection a number that we have sought for. The book as it is is more than a novelty; it is a boon to young and unpractised writers, and may conveniently lie at the elbow of the adepts, for there are few who do not sometimes pause for the right word, or discuss the one they have set down. We have ourselves written thousands of pages, and to this day it will happen as we have said. A specimen or two will be better than any description we can give:—

"GLAMOUR, *n.* Perhaps *γλαυκῶμα*, a white secretion of the eyes, accompanied by indistinctness of vision. Metaphorically, a distorted or deceptive vision.

"*SYN.* Hallucination. Visionariness. Distortion. Blindness.

"*ANT.* Clear sightedness. Observation. Penetration.

"GLANCE, *v. int.* Germ. *glanz*, *flash*. Followed by *prep.* at. See Gaze.

"GLARE, *v. int.* Allied to Lat. *clarus*. To shine with a strong and steady brightness, to which has been added the idea of excessive or unsubdued brightness.

"*SYN.* Beam. Shine. Gleam. Ray. Radiate.

"*ANT.* Shimmer. Scintillate. Glitter. Smoulder. Glimmer. Glisten. Glisten. Sparkle. Flash. Flicker.

"GLARE, *n.* See *verb.*

"GLARINGLY, *adv.* See Glare.

"*SYN.* Broadly. Obviously. Manifestly. Conspicuously.

"*ANT.* Covertly. Doubtfully. Obscurely. Suggestively. Suspiciously.

"GLASSY, *adj.* Having any one or more of the properties of glass. Sax. *gläs*.

"*SYN.* Vitreous. Smooth. Polished. Glacial. Glabrous. Brittle. Transparent. Crystalline. Pellucid. Limpid. Glossy. Silken.

"*ANT.* Rough. Uneven. Rugged. Pliant. Tough. Opaque. Luteous. Muddy. Turbid. Scabrous.

"GLAVER, *v. tr.* and *int.* To flatter. See Glabrous and Flatter. To smoothe down with words.

"GLAZE, *v. tr.* See Glassy. To make glassy.

"*SYN.* Vitrefy. Gloss. Polish. Burnish. Furbish.

"*ANT.* Roughen. Corrugate. Rumble. Crumple.

"GLEAM, *v. int.* Sax. *gläwan*, to shine. See Glare."

It will be seen that etymologies are given; and all who have tried their hands at it know the plague of settling the derivation of many words. Here is Archdeacon Smith suggesting *γλαυκῶμα*, as perhaps the origin of "glamour," but although the senses correspond somehow, is it not far more likely that the source is the same as that of "gleam," "glimmer," "glare," "glitter," "glow," "glance," "glass," "gleed," "gloss?" where with all sorts of terminations the invariable *gl* expresses a fundamental idea. "Gloaming" and "gloom" may come from the same stock on the principle of *lucus a non lucendo*. Affirming the uncertainty of some of the etymologies, we cordially recommend this well-contrived and useful book.

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*Edmund Campion. A Biography.* By RICHARD SIMPSON. London: Williams and Norgate.

THE name of Campion is familiar to the readers of English Church history, and we are sure many readers will thank Mr. Simpson for his biography of that remarkable man. The book reached us too late for a detailed notice in the present number, but we hope to have a full account of it in our next. At present we only observe that the author is a liberal and enlightened member of Campion's own Church, and that his opinions appear to contrast favourably with those who go as far as Archbishop Manning, if not farther. We have seen quite enough to justify us in describing this as an important work.

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*Books received, some of them too late for review:—*

- Christian Schools and Scholars; or, Sketches of Education, from the Christian Era to the Council of Trent. Two Vols. Longmans.
- Ecclesia Dei: the Place and Functions of the Church in the Divine Order of the Universe, and its Relations with the World. Strahan.
- Church Life: its Grounds and Obligations. Strahan.
- Reason and Religion: or, The Leading Doctrines of Christianity. By Rev. R. E. Hoopell. Macintosh.
- Tracts for the Day. No. I. Priestly Absolution; Scriptural. No. II. Purgatory. No. III. The Seven Sacraments. Edited by the Rev. Orby Shipley, M.A. London: Longmans.
- A Scientific and General Vindication of the Mosaic History of the Creation. By Rev. C. F. Watkins. London: Rivingtons.
- The Historical Character of the Mosaic Account of the Creation. By H. Jellett, A.M. Dublin: Hodges, Smith, and Co.



- A Letter containing Remarks on some Current Opinions respecting the Eucharist. By C. Smith, B.D. London: Rivingtons.
- Rome's Tactics: or, A Lesson for England from the Past. By W. Goode, D.D. London: Hatchard and Co.
- Swedenborg's Writings and Catholic Teaching. By Rev. A. Clissold, M.A. London: Alvey.
- Remarks on the Educational Uses of the Proverbs of Solomon. By R. Sheen. London: G. Norman.
- Address to General Assembly of the Church of Scotland: By T. J. Crawford, D.D. Edinburgh: Blackwood and Sons.
- North British Review. June.
- Bibliotheca Sacra. April.
- Novum Testamentum Vaticanum. Edidit C. Tischendorf. Lipsiæ.
- Greek Lessons; shewing how useful and easy it is to learn Greek. By W. H. Morris. Second Edition. London: J. H. Bateman.
- Essays and Discourses. By T. W. Tozer. E. Stock. 1867.
- Historical and Critical Commentary on the Old Testament, with a new translation, by M. M. Kalisch, Ph.D. Leviticus I.—X. London: Longmans.
- Bunsen (C. C. J. B.) Vollständiges Bibel werk für die Gemeinde. Vol. VIII. Theologische Ethik, von Dr. Richard Rothe.
- Der Pentateuch übersetzt und erläutert, von S. R. Hirsch. Die Genesis.
- Sinai et Golgotha, ou les Origines du Judaïsme et du Christianisme, suivi d'un examen critique des Evangiles anciens et modernes, par H. Graetz, traduit et mis en ordre par Maurice Hess. Paris.
- Les Symbole des Apôtres, Essai Historique, par Michel Nicholas. Paris.
- Geschichte der Alten Kirche. Von Christi Geburt bis zum Ende des sechsten Jahrhunderts von Dr. P. Schaff. Leipzig.
- L'Eglise de Russie, par L. Boissard. Two Vols. Paris.
- Anleitung zur Griechischen Paleographie, von W. Wattenbach. Leipzig.
- Allgemeiner Missions Atlas, von Dr. B. Grundemann. Gotha.
- Dictionnaire Critique de Biographie et d'Histoire errata et Supplément pour tous les dictionnaires Historiques d'après des documents authentiques inédits; par A. Jal. Paris.
- Die politische Lage und die Zukunft der evangelischen Kirche in Deutschland. Gedanken zur kirchlichen Verfassungsfrage. Von einem Deutschen Theologen. Gotha. 1867.
- Grammatik des Neutestamentlichen Sprachidioms als sichere Grundlage der Neutestamentlichen Exegese bearbeitet von Dr. G. B. Winer. Siebente verbesserte und vermehrte Auflage besorgt von Dr. G. Lünemann.

# MISCELLANIES.

## NOTES ON ST. JOHN, CHAP. I.

[It is needless to say that Cowper, the translator of Homer, was a practised Greek scholar, and a sincerely religious man. We have seen in the *Sunday at Home* for June the only example we know of Cowper's attempting to annotate a portion of Scripture. We have been so much interested in it that we transfer it to our pages, and think our readers will many of them very much like to see it.—ED.]

In the gospel of Christ, as recorded by this Evangelist, we have many facts not mentioned by the others, and many private discourses of our Saviour with his disciples, etc. Particularly we have the Godhead of our blessed Lord asserted in the clearest and most positive terms. No sooner was the wheat sown, than the enemy sowed tares amongst it. In the first ages of the Church these sons of perdition were so presumptuous as to deny that our Saviour was God, though God himself declares that beside him there is no Saviour.

Ver. 1. By the Word is to be understood the Son of God; Christ was that Word, and here it is absolutely asserted that the Word is God; Christ therefore is God. Let the Arians and Socinians talk never so proudly, and reason never so subtly, this plain assertion of our Saviour's deity, though now rejected, will be a swift witness against them in the day of judgment; for Christ says, The word which I speak, the same shall judge you in the last day.

Ver. 2. He was with God in the *beginning*—viz., from *all eternity*.

Ver. 3. In this verse it is asserted that the same Word created all things, and this assertion is doubled and redoubled, to evince the certainty of it. Christ, therefore, is God the Creator.

Ver. 4. In him was life: another proof of our Saviour's godhead. God is the only author of life, and therefore can alone be said to have life, which is here affirmed of the Word, or Son of God; therefore Christ, who is the Word of God, is God also. See St. Paul's noble doxology in the first epistle to Timothy: "The King of kings, who only hath immortality," etc.

Ver. 5. This is universally true with respect to the whole gospel, the light whereof shineth, both in the purity of its doctrine and the clearness of its evidence, with a meridian splendour. But the darkness—that is, the natural man—receiveth not the things of God, neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned. It is also

particularly true with respect to this doctrine, than which hardly any is more frequently inculcated, none more expressly asserted, and yet none more generally denied.

Ver. 6. A man sent from God: Behold I send my messenger before my face. This is that Elias which was to come.

Vers. 7, 8. John bore witness of that Light when he said, Behold the Lamb of God that taketh away the sins of the world: and again, He must increase, but I must decrease, etc.

Ver. 9. Christ is that Light that lighteth every man that cometh into the world. Whether it be the light of reason or the light of grace, all is from him. Surely, then, infidels would blush at their ingratitude, if they did but know that the very reason which they employ to the subversion of the faith is his gift who also gives them the gospel, and that they are perverting one of our Saviour's blessings in order to defeat another.

Ver. 10. A lamentable argument of the sad consequences of Adam's fall. Man saw his Maker in the person of Christ face to face, yet knew him not. Thousands still see him in the glass of the gospel, and acknowledge him not. How few have eyes to behold the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ!

Vers. 11, 12, 13. He came unto his own—his own both by indisputable right of creation and of purchase; yet he was despised and rejected by them, and they said, as in the parable, We will not have this man to reign over us. They who are truly Christ's, having received him into their hearts by faith, shall be his for ever; for he is stronger than all, and none plucketh them out of his hand. They have received the Spirit of adoption, whereby they cry Abba, Father! being regenerated by the Holy Ghost, and created in Christ Jesus unto good works. Where is the tongue or the heart that can be sufficiently thankful for such an inestimable privilege?

Ver. 14. This Divine Word, who was from all eternity in the bosom of the Father, by whom all things were created, the light of the world, and the life of all the elect of God, was at length incarnate, and became in fashion as a man; and the Apostle alleges here his own testimony and that of the other Apostles, having been eye-witnesses of his excellence, to prove that he was more than human. Such grace and truth could belong to none but a God incarnate.

Ver. 15. John was six months older than Christ in the flesh, yet he says that Christ was before him. A full refutation of all such heretics as deny the pre-existence of our Saviour.

Ver. 16. Grace upon grace in the original. *Vide Cant.*: Eat, O

friends, drink, yea drink abundantly, O beloved ! And in him dwelleth all the fulness of the godhead bodily. Believers have all things in Christ, and in him are treasures of inexhaustible grace. In him we are regenerate, sanctified, justified, glorified.

Ver. 17. The law came by the hand of a mediator, in which respect Moses was a type of Christ ; but the law was the ministration of death. Verily, if there had been a law that could have given life, righteousness should have been by the law ; but the ministration of grace, that is to say free mercy—and of truth, which I should here take to signify righteousness, was, because it exceeds in glory, reserved for Jesus.

Ver. 18. No man, says the Apostle, hath seen God at any time. But Moses saw God upon Mount Sinai. Here, then, is meant God the Father ; and consequently Christ was that God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, the great I AM, with whom Moses conversed face to face in Horeb, in Sinai, and in the tabernacle. The Apostle adds, the only-begotten Son, he hath declared to us the Father. This clearly proves that the Father is meant in the preceding sentence. But how has he declared him ? By exhibiting to us in himself an exact transcript of his perfections ; for, as it is written in the first chapter of Hebrews, he was the brightness of his glory, and the express image of his person.

Ver. 19. Here we see the Apostle again appealing to the testimony of the Baptist. The Jews had entertained a high opinion of the sanctity of the Baptist's character, as is plain from the inquiries they made by the priests and Levites ; and our Saviour himself says of the Jews, that for a time they were willing to rejoice in the light of that burning and shining witness. Therefore it is, probably, that the Apostle so frequently appeals to his testimony concerning our Lord.

Vers. 20, 21, 22. The Jews at this time expected the Messiah, and, being struck with the venerable austerity of his manner, suspected that John was he. Being assured by himself that he was not, and remembering that in the prophet Malachi God had promised to send them Elijah the prophet before the great and terrible day of the Lord, they supposed that, if he were not the Christ, at least he was Elijah there promised. And so, indeed, he was ; for our Saviour himself says afterwards, If ye will receive him, that is that Elias which was to come. How comes it to pass, then, that John denies of himself what our Lord affirms of him, saying I am not that Elias ? Doubtless he knew that the Jews suspected him to be that identical Elijah of the Old Testament raised again from the dead. This he denies, though it be at the same time true that he was actually the person foretold and promised

under the name of Elijah. We see a strong resemblance in life, manners, and temper between the real and figurative Elijah.

Ver. 23. I am the voice. As if he had said, That prophecy of Isaiah related to me, and is in me accomplished. That voice, which the prophet so many ages since foretold, now speaks by me.

Vers. 24, 25. The Jews, not understanding what the Baptist meant by calling himself the voice in the wilderness, again make inquiry concerning his authority to baptize, surprised, no doubt, that a person who confessed that he was neither Christ nor the prophet for whom they had taken him, who wrought no miracle, nor pretended to any such power, should institute a new religious ceremony, the spiritual import of which they were probably strangers to. It is remarkable that these inquirers were Pharisees, who boasted of the most exact knowledge of the law and the prophets; yet, after the Baptist had referred them to that particular designation of him in Isaiah, they seem as ignorant of his errand and office as before.

Vers. 26, 27, Q.D. : My baptism is only figurative of that by which the Messiah (who is actually come, though ye know him not) shall sanctify his disciples. The important doctrine of regeneration by the Spirit, though essentially necessary to salvation, and clearly set forth by this typical water baptism, was nevertheless a secret to Nicodemus, a teacher in Israel, and no doubt to most, if not all, the wise men of the Sanhedrim.

Ver. 29. Behold the Lamb of God. Here the Baptist in one word explains to them the ultimate drift and scope of the sacrament of the Paschal lamb. The Jews probably thought that when the Passover was eaten with a serious recollection of their deliverance from the destroying angel in Egypt, the whole intent of the institution was answered. But that deliverance was itself a type of a greater, and both the deliverance and the sacramental commemoration of it had a further view to that salvation wrought out for us by our Lord, who was the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world.

Ver. 31. That he should be made manifest to Israel, *i. e.*, that Israel may understand the purpose of his mission, which is by the application of his blood through faith, and the sanctifying influences of his Spirit, to cancel their iniquities, and present them spotless before God. Therefore am I come baptizing, exhibiting to them in a lively figure the substance of their redemption.

Ver. 33. And I knew him not. It is probable, therefore, that Elizabeth, the Baptist's mother, to whom it had been revealed that the Messiah should be born of her cousin the virgin Mary, had, like Mary,

treasured up that revelation in her heart, not imparting it even to her son, the Holy Ghost not seeing it meet that it should be generally known that Jesus was the Christ, till the time when he entered on his ministry; neither do we find that our Lord and the Baptist had any personal acquaintance with each other till this time, our Lord having dwelt with his parents at Nazareth, and the other, as we read in St. Luke, in the wilderness, till the day of his shewing unto Israel. This made it impossible for the Jews to suspect any secret collusion between him who testified and him who was the object of that testimony.

Ver. 34. The descent of the Holy Ghost upon our Lord, with this tremulous undulatory motion like the wings of a dove, in the appearance of a bright flame, fixes the application of the typical mercy-seat in the holy of holies to him as the antitype. Over the mercy-seat abode the shechinah of glory, as here upon the head of our Saviour. God is said to have dwelt between the cherubims, and the cherubims of glory shadowed the mercy-seat. (Heb. ix. 5.)

Ver. 35. What a lively and beautiful picture is drawn in this and the four following verses, without any straining of the fancy, or labour of the pen, and in the utmost simplicity of language!

The Baptist is represented to the mind as in a contemplative posture, fixing his eyes upon the Saviour as he passed, till at length, animated by that sight, he breaks out into this short but affectionate confession of his faith in him, Behold the Lamb of God! The two disciples eagerly catch up his words, leave him, and follow Jesus. Our Lord, not as ignorant of their purpose, but to give them an opportunity of speaking, demands what they seek. They, without preface or apology for so abrupt an introduction of themselves to a stranger, reply, Where dwellest thou?—too much in earnest to say more than they meant, or to suppress what they did mean. When our Saviour, with an easiness of access which encourages them, no doubt, and may encourage every sinner, says, Come and see. Thus speaks he to every man, and all that will be with him where he is, and behold his glory.

The picture is all animated, and we see the gesture as well as hear the words of those who make up the subject of it.

Ver. 42. Which is by interpretation, a stone,—more properly a rock. When our Lord gave this name to Peter, he probably alluded both to the firmness and intrepidity of his temper, and to that subsequent declaration of his, that He was the Son of the living God, the fundamental article of the Christian faith,—since upon that occasion also he gives St. Peter the same appellation.

Ver. 43. Jesus findeth Philip,—not in the sense in which we

generally use the word, as when we find a thing as it were by accident; for our Lord always knew those that were his, and whom he would ordain apostles: but he went that he might find him.

Ver. 45. Philip tells Nathanael, We have found Jesus—whereas in truth Jesus had found him. Thus it is in every instance, we find him not till he is pleased to manifest himself unto us, and we love him because he first loved us.

Ver. 46. Come and see. A short conversation or interview with him will convince you that not only a good thing may come out of that despised city Nazareth, but that even the Saviour of the world is a Nazarene.

Ver. 48. Whence knowest thou me? This Nathanael says, not as acknowledging or claiming to himself the amiable character our Lord had given him, but as if he had said, How shouldst thou, who never sawest me before, know whether I am indeed an Israelite without guile, or a profane and wicked person?

Ver. 49. Our Saviour, having given Nathaniel an instance of his omnipresence and omniscience, the new disciple, with that ingenuous candour which shewed how well he deserved the character of an Israelite without guile, immediately draws the proper consequence: Thou art the Son of God, thou art the king of Israel. Had our modern Socinians and Arians any of Nathanael's temper, they would confess that omnipresence is an attribute of God alone, and that our Saviour, having here given a proof of his omnipresence, must be God accordingly.

Ver. 51. The angels of God visibly attended our Lord in the garden, at the sepulchre, and at his ascension.

Nathanael is supposed to be the same with Bartholomew.

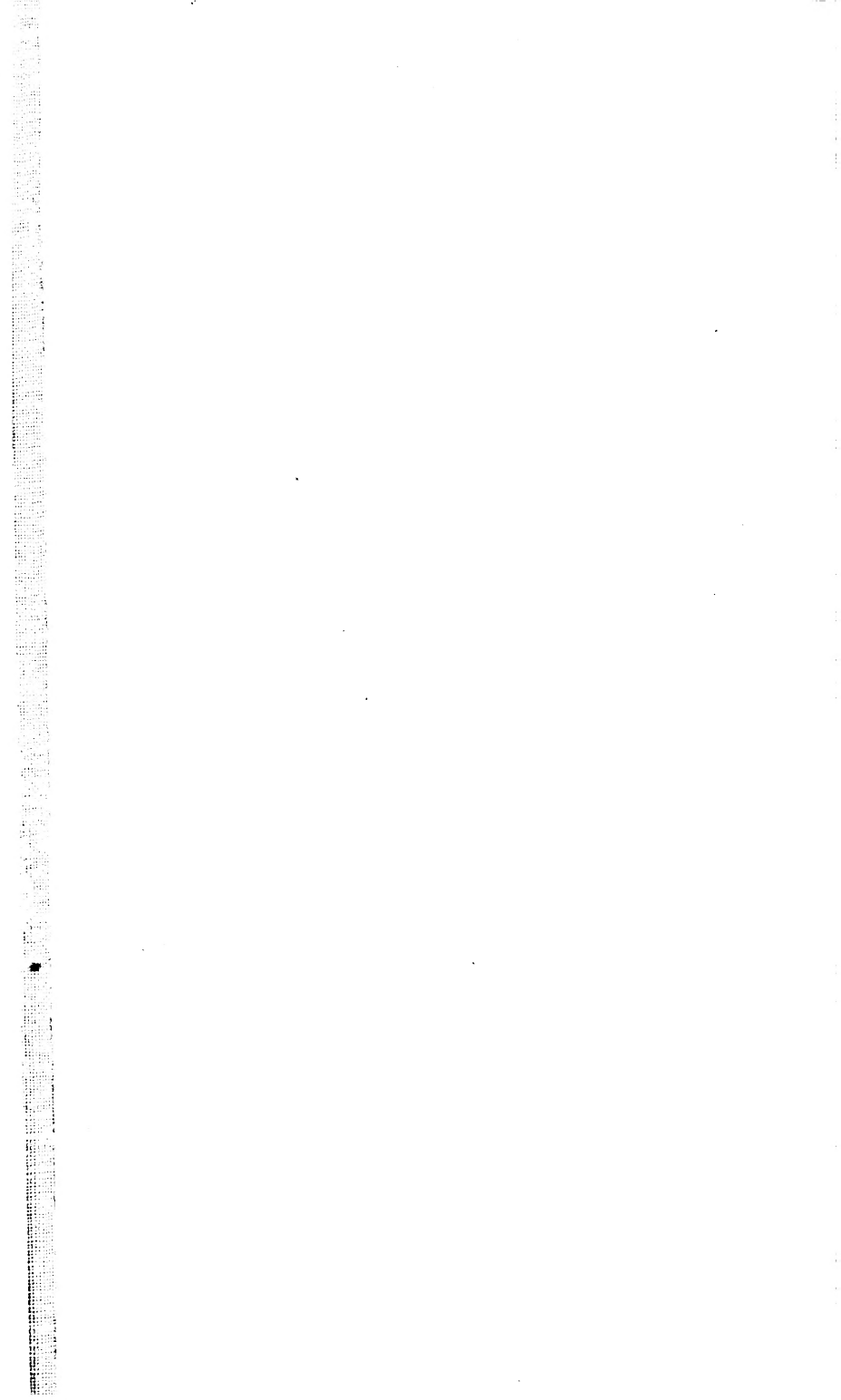
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